


THE LIBRARY.

THE BINDINGS OF THOMAS WOTTON.

BOUT the middle of the sixteenth century a style of binding arose in this country which, though obviously copied from foreign models, acquired a distinctive character of its own, and was much in favour with the most eminent book collectors. It is generally known as 'English Grolieresque,' a most inappropriate term, and associated with the name of that great book collector Thomas Wotton, called from the motto often placed on his books, 'Thomae Wottoni et amicorum,' the 'English Grolier.'

The bindings, which are always of smooth brown calf, have very elaborate geometrical designs formed by a band or bands coloured black and bordered with gold lines. These are relieved with bold gilt sprays, sometimes plain, sometimes azured or also coloured black. A very judicious use of dotted gold backgrounds in small spaces adds much to the general effect. This style of ornament seems to have originally come from Lyons, and many beautiful examples of such foreign bindings are in

existence. They, however, differ from the English examples in that they are very rarely worked with the interlacing bands in black alone, the more general custom having been to use a combination of brighter colours, red, blue, or green. At first these bindings were very carefully tooled, but they grew so rapidly in favour that the Lyonnese printers, especially the firm of Gryphius, introduced the labour-saving device of printing the whole of the design of the side from one block in gold, the interlacing bands being afterwards coloured by hand. A few of the bindings of Grolier and Maioli are of fine Lyonnese work, but most of their best specimens are Italian.

Thomas Wotton, who was born in 1521, was the son of Sir Edward Wotton and Dorothy, fourth daughter of Sir Robert Rede, the celebrated Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and founder of the Rede Lectureship at Cambridge. Sir Edward was an early convert to the principles of the Reformation, and seems to have taken an active part in religious questions. He appears to have had some interests abroad, for he was frequently at Calais, and in 1540 was appointed Treasurer of Calais.

Thomas succeeded to the estates at his father's death in 1551, but previous to this time appears to have begun to collect his library, as books are found with earlier dates stamped on the bindings. From the subject matter of many of his books that have come down to us, it is clear that like his father he took a deep interest in the various religious disputes of the time. Indeed on one occasion he was committed to the Fleet 'for

obstinate standing against matters of religion,' though it is believed that this imprisonment was made at the instigation of his uncle Nicholas Wotton, in order to save him from participation in Wyatt's rebellion. The latter part of his life seems to have been spent in quiet retirement, and in fulfilling the duties of an important landowner and county magistrate. He entertained Queen Elizabeth at Boughton Malherbe, his estate in Kent, and both then and on other occasions refused the offer of knighthood. Edward VI. had intended to make him K.B., but the Council under Mary 'discharged him from being knight of the Bath.' These various offers probably are the origin of his being so often referred to as 'Sir Thomas.' His chief claim now to our attention is that he was a man of 'great learning, religion and wealth,' and 'a gentleman excellently educated and studious in all the liberal arts, in the knowledge whereof he attained unto great perfection.' Beyond this, there is no doubt, from the few remains left, he possessed a noble library.

Some years ago a curious misapprehension arose about this collection. It was stated that the small coat of arms found on many of the bindings was not part of the original scheme, but was stamped on later, after the father's death, by his son Edward, afterwards Baron Wotton. The explanation given is that the quartered coat represents 1 and 4 Argent a saltire engrailed sable, for Wotton, 2 and 3 Argent, on a chief sable a lion passant of the first for Rudston, Thomas Wotton having married Elizabeth Rudston, and the son using their quartered coats.

If this were correct, what could be plainer?

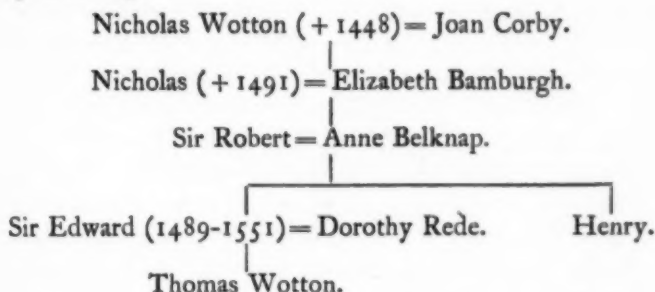
But unfortunately it is not. Burke in his *General Armoury* is curiously silent regarding any such arms for the various families of Rudston, giving them all variations of three bulls' heads. Now on some of his books Thomas Wotton used his large armorial stamp with the



one of the most beautiful early stamps in existence, assigned by Mr. Davenport in his 'English Heraldic Book-stamps,' for some unstated reason, to Humphrey Salwey. As several of the quarterings there given are incorrect it may be as well to set them out afresh.

1. Argent, a saltire engrailed sable. [Corby.]
2. Argent, on a chief sable a lion passant of the first. [Bamburgh.]
3. Azure, three eagles in bend between two cotises argent. [Belknap.]
4. Gules, a fess chequy argent and sable between six crosses crosslet fitchee of the second. [Butler.]
5. Or, two bendlets gules. [Sudeley.]
6. Bendy of ten or and azure. [Montfort.]
7. Gules, on a bend wavy argent three shovellers sable, beaked and legged or. [Rede.]
8. Argent, a fess azure between three boars' heads coupé sable. [Alphew.]
9. Argent, a chevron engrailed gules between three bugle-horns sable, stringed or. [Petit.]

The founder of the family Nicholas Wotton, who died in 1448, married Joan Corby, a great heiress, and assumed her arms. The following skeleton tree will show the derivation of the quarterings:



These arms, with the exact nine quarterings, occur on his tomb in the church of Boughton Malherbe, Kent, where his monument with his figure executed in white marble stands against the north wall in the chancel. The smaller arms which occur on the books are thus Wotton (Corby) quartering those of the next great heiress Elizabeth Bamburgh. Thus the statement concerning the later stamping of the books is quite untenable.

The Wotton bindings may be roughly divided into three groups: those with the elaborate designs, gilt and enamelled, and often bearing the smaller armorial stamp; those with plain sides, and the large armorial stamp; and, lastly, those with his name roughly printed on the sides, and generally with small medallion heads.

Three of the very ornamental bindings in the British Museum have been reproduced in facsimile.

One on 'Les questions Tusculanes de M. T. Ciceron,' printed at Lyons about 1543, is pictured in both Mr. Wheatley's and Mr. Fletcher's books on bindings in the British Museum, as well as in Tuckett's *Specimens of ancient and modern binding* published in 1846. This has not the arms, but has the inscription 'Thomae Wottoni et Amicorum.' A second bookbinding given by Mr. Fletcher is 'Ricoldi contra sectam Mahumeticam libellus,' 1511, bound up with another book of 1540. The third book, reproduced only by Tuckett, though to judge by the very inadequate picture the finest of all, is on a copy of the 'Historia Mundi' of Pliny, printed at Lyons in 1548, and described in the letterpress as 'probably bound in France shortly after its publication.' In the Douce scrapbook of bindings in the Bodleian are the two sides of a Wotton binding with the armorial stamp, but no reference is given as to what book they were stripped from. In the same volume are the sides of two other books, one very similar in style and having the date 1552 upon it, the other binding ornamented with the same tools as the Wotton bindings, but neither having any arms or name.

In the exhibition of bookbindings held by the Burlington Club, several of this collector's books were exhibited, and one, then belonging to Mr. B. Quaritch, was reproduced in the illustrated catalogue. It differed considerably from most of the ornamental bindings. Though the centre of each side was still ornamented with a geometrical design, the outer border was made by means of a roll-tool, and no gilding of any kind was used.

Spaces in the inner panel were filled with blind-tooled heads, originally worked in silver, which was almost tarnished black. Two other very fine ornamental Wotton bindings are in the library of Magdalen College, Oxford, and a very beautiful specimen was bought for the Rylands library in 1894, as there was not a single example of that collector's binding in the Spencer library. The beautiful copy of Ochino's 'Primacy of Rome,' 1549, with the Wotton arms, sold in the Amherst sale, is figured in Quaritch's 'Facsimiles of Book-bindings.'

The plain bindings with the fine armorial stamp before referred to, appear to have been made for Wotton towards the end of his life. They are generally of calf or vellum without tooling, the coat of arms within the wreath having been considered sufficient ornament. No facsimile of these bindings appears to have been issued, but the stamp is figured in Davenport's 'English Heraldic Book-stamps' under Salwey.

The small plain bindings with Wotton's name and a small medallion head in the centre appear to be early, and are usually very poor specimens of binding. The use of the medallion heads was widespread, and appears to have been begun by Berthelet. They are also found on early Scottish bindings. The heads most commonly found are those of Dido and Plato.

The use of colour or metal on armorial stamps is very uncommon, and is almost entirely confined to the earliest examples. In Scotland, where the use of armorial stamps began earlier than in England, it never occurs. Sir William Pickering had his

bookstamp coloured, and as he bequeathed his fine library to his illegitimate daughter Hester, who married Thomas Wotton's son Edward, the libraries of the two contemporary collectors who used coloured stamps became merged into one. The Neville arms on many of the books in Trinity College Library, Cambridge, are occasionally coloured, as are also the arms of Sylvius Elwes on the large collection of books which he bequeathed to the same library. The arms of the Earl of Arundel and Henry, Duke of Richmond, are also coloured. The Wotton arms on his books are generally spoken of as impressed in silver, but they are really expressed in their proper heraldic tincture, 'Argent, a saltire engrailed sable,' and 'Argent, on a chief sable a lion passant of the first.'

Another very typical mark of these early stamps is their circular form. The earliest known, that of William Stewart, Bishop of Aberdeen (1479-1545), is in an absolute circle, as is the first stamp of Robert Dudley, which is generally coloured. Sir William Pickering's, and his contemporary the Regent Moray's, are in circular wreaths. That of Wotton, which resembles both, is, however, not quite circular.

An exception occurs in the royal stamps, which were generally in an oblong compartment, as are those of the Earl of Arundel and Henry, Duke of Richmond, the illegitimate son of Henry VIII. Towards the end of Henry's reign and during that of Edward VI. and Mary, the royal arms are most frequently found surrounded by a circular ornament of some kind.

There is one book especially which is not infrequently found bound in this rich style, the Latin Bible printed by Etienne at Paris in 1545. It is a triumph of beautiful printing, and seems to have appealed strongly to booklovers, and to have been often chosen as a gift for some special occasion, a birthday or wedding. For this reason most examples have a date, and sometimes initials, stamped upon them.

As to the ultimate fate of Thomas Wotton's fine library, we have no information. It probably passed with the estate of Boughton Malherbe to Edward, Baron Wotton. He married, as stated, Hester, daughter of Sir William Pickering, who in his will had expressly desired that his fine library should not be dispersed, but go to whoever should marry his daughter. We thus know for certain that Edward Wotton possessed the Pickering library. Now in the Bodleian Library there is a copy of '*Tilii Chronicon de regibus Francorum*,' Paris, 1551, bound in calf, with the fine coloured armorial stamps, different on each cover, of Sir William Pickering; yet on the title-page is the inscription 'Jo Poyntz 1601.' It would thus appear that the Pickering books had been dispersed during Edward Wotton's life-time, and if the library of his father-in-law, why not that of his father as well? On the death of Edward in 1626, his son Thomas succeeded as second Baron. He died, aged 43, in 1630, leaving four daughters, of whom the eldest Catherine inherited Boughton Malherbe, and married Henry, Lord Stanhope, the estate thus passing to another family. It would

be interesting to examine all the available copies of Wotton books with a view to tracing their subsequent ownership, for books so beautifully bound might well tempt a purchaser to write his name in them. Besides Edward, Thomas Wotton had three other sons, Robert, Sir John, and Sir Henry.

The question naturally arises, who bound these books? It seems most probable that we owe them to the foreign refugees who poured into England on the accession of Edward VI. The fine gilt bindings of Henry VIII.'s reign, which are usually associated with the name of Thomas Berthelet, the royal binder, are quite different in style, and, as he himself tells us, were tooled in the Venetian manner with tools cut after the Italian models. But even his bindings show the influence of the new style, and on his bindings made for Edward VI. he often makes use of interlaced geometrical patterns which were unknown in the preceding reign.

There are two special points to be noticed about these bindings, the excellence of the designs, and the weakness of the execution. The patterns are almost always very well thought out, but the binder seems to have been very careless in the tooling, and to all appearances depended more on his eye than his rule. On one binding of this class preserved in the Bodleian, the outer gold lines which border the panel on either side are a third of an inch wider apart at the bottom than at the top, but the appearance of disproportion has been removed, by a balancing arrangement of the interior ornaments, which are all slightly out of position. When ornament of this class is done

incorrectly by rule the result is very displeasing, but when working by eye, any mistake can be rectified by adjusting the ornaments to compensate. The leather also which was used for these bindings, though very smooth and well adapted for delicate tooling, seems often to have been thin and not of very good quality. It is for this reason probably that so few now remain, for the great collectors about 1800 would not tolerate any bindings except in perfect condition.

The vogue of these bindings was short lived; almost all were made between 1548 and 1558, and most during Edward's reign. The few later examples of the style are very inferior in design, and the distinctive black colouring is absent. There can be little doubt that most were produced, or at any rate inspired, by the skilled French workmen who came over as refugees. As has been said before, Berthelet's early gilt-tooled work was Italian, and worked with distinctive Venetian tools, but when he died in 1556 and a schedule of all his property was prepared, all the binders who were tenants under him were, without exception, Frenchmen.

E. GORDON DUFF.

THE SUPPOSED CALLING-IN OF DRAYTON'S 'HARMONY OF THE CHURCH,' 1591.

IN the introduction to his edition of 'Poems by Michael Drayton,' printed for the Roxburghe Club in 1856, pp. xi.-xii., J. P. Collier, having quoted the entry of Drayton's 'Harmony of the Church' in the Stationers' Register on 1st February, 1590/1, proceeds to state that from a memorandum in the records of the Company, 'dated in the same year,' we learn that the book was seized by order of the authorities. The passage referred to is as follows:

Whereas all the seised bookes menconed in the Laste accoumpte before this, were sould this yere to master Bysshop: Be yt Remembered that Fortye of them, beinge Harmonies of the churche¹ ratid at ij^s le peece, were had from him by warrante of my lordes grace of Canterburie and Remayne at Lambithe with master Doctour Cosen and for somme other of the said bookes, the said master bisshop hathe paid ij^l as appeareth in the charge of this accoumpte, and the Residue remayne in the hall to thuse of Yarrette James.—(Arber's 'Transcript,' i. 543.)

¹ Herbert, 'Typ. Antiq.,' iii. p. 1417, prints 'Harmonies of the Churches.'

Collier's statement that the ‘Harmony’ was suppressed seems to have been accepted without question by all later writers on Drayton, and is repeated in every account of him which is known to me, including those in the ‘Dictionary of National Biography,’ the ‘Cambridge History of English Literature,’ and Professor Elton's monograph. In most cases astonishment is expressed that a work to all appearance so innocent should have incurred official censure. It would indeed be astonishing, if it were true.

Unfortunately, however, for the theory, the memorandum in the records of the Stationers' Company upon which it is based is not ‘dated in the same year’ as the entry of copyright, but occurs in the Company's accounts for the year 10th July, 1589, to 15th July, 1590, and was therefore made at latest some six months before Drayton's work appeared. Further, as the books to which it refers had been ‘menconed in the Laste accoumpte before this,’ they must have been seized not later than 1588-9.¹ It is evidently quite impossible that Drayton's ‘Harmony’ can have been among them.

As long ago as 1790 the memorandum, which Collier thought he had been the first to notice, had been cited by Herbert in his edition of Ames' ‘Typographical Antiquities,’ vol. iii., p. 1417, as referring to a puritan work of somewhat similar title to Drayton's, but of very different contents, namely, ‘An Harmony of the Confessions of the

¹ Indeed, from certain memoranda in earlier accounts (Arber's ‘Transcript,’ i. 521, 524, 525, 530, 535), it seems probable that they were seized in 1586-7.

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faith of the Christian and Reformed Churches,' which had been published at Cambridge in 1586. That this had been called in by authority is, as Herbert noted, definitely stated in the Marprelate 'Epistle' printed in the autumn of 1588, where after mentioning 'the Harmonie of the Confessions of all those Churches' the writer continues: 'Which Harmonie, was translated and printed by that puritan Cambridg printer, Thomas Thomas. And although the booke came out by publike authoritie, yet by your leaue the Bishops haue called them in, as things against their state' ('Epistle,' ed. Arber, p. 8).

There is then no reason for doubting that it was to this 'Harmony of the Confessions,' and not to Drayton's work, that the memorandum in the Stationers' Register refers.

R. B. MCKERROW.

ENGLISH BOOKS IN THE INDEXES 'LIBRORUM PROHIBITORUM ET EXPURGANDORUM.'



GENERAL comparison of the lists of books in the Catalogues of the Roman Index, with the regulations framed for their prohibition, condemnation, expurgation, or correction, is sufficient to convince even the most casual reader that the decrees deal only with books which have chanced to be brought to the notice of the Congregation. Inconsistencies increase, as it is natural to expect, in proportion to the inaccessibility of the volumes to Rome; thus, in dealing with English works laid under the ban of the Papal decrees, the interest lies not so much in drawing up a complete historical guide to so-called heretical English literature, as in obtaining a general survey of a curious medley.

Even in the days of manuscripts books were from time to time condemned by ecclesiastical authority, notably those of Wyclif and Hus, but the invention of printing caused the problem to assume far greater importance, and in 1515 the Fifth Lateran Council decreed that no one should be allowed to print or cause to be printed any book which had not been examined, approved, and signed by a qualified censor. But for many years the censorship was mainly exercised by individual governments. Thus

the Netherlands, France, England, and Spain had all published catalogues of forbidden books before one was issued at Rome and the independence of the Spanish index was long maintained. A catalogue, which may be regarded in the nature of an orderly 'Index Librorum Prohibitorum,' was issued, still under the authority of the State, by the direction of Charles V., in 1546, at Louvain; but this and many that follow are unimportant as far as the writings of Englishmen are concerned. By the decree of the Council of Trent, drawn up in 1564, the whole matter of prohibition was brought under deliberate review and fully codified. The story of this session of the Council and its resultant work and regulations in the matter of literary censorship is too well known to require repetition. The elaborate rules framed for the condemnation of books of heresiarchs, those edited by heretics, those dealing with controversial matter or corrupt and immoral subjects, as well as geomancy, hydromancy, aeromancy, pyromancy, onomancy, chiromancy, necromancy, or treating of sorceries, poisons, auguries, auspices or magical incantations, judicial astrology and prediction of events, formed the basis, with but few exceptions, of all future decrees up to the present day. Several of the Popes extended or altered these rules. Decrees of outstanding importance were issued by Sixtus V., Clement VIII., Alexander VII., Benedict XIV., Gregory XVI., and Leo XIII.

The Sacred Congregation of the Index, founded by Pius V., in 1571, and brought into definite shape under Sixtus V., is the body constituted for

the express purpose of examining all books submitted to it and reporting thereon to the Cardinals. This council consists of a Cardinal Prefect and of other Cardinals, the Master of the Sacred Palace as assistant, a Dominican as secretary, and various consultants and relators. The judgments of the Congregation on books brought to their notice are submitted periodically to the Pope, together with the grounds upon which they are based, for the purpose of obtaining his final decision in the matter. In 1896 Leo XIII. reformed the Laws of the Index concerning the censorship of books, and added in 1898 an important rider to the clause which maintains that the laws are of universal application. It was declared, namely, that English-speaking countries come under this law, but the Sacred Congregation of the ‘Propaganda Fide,’ which deals with all questions concerning the Church in missionary lands, granted the English bishops ample faculties, owing to ‘the special circumstances of the country,’ in order that they might ‘modify the rigour of the law by their prudence and counsel as the case demands.’

In the early Indexes, French or Latin translations of English books were condemned from time to time in lieu of the originals, which rarely reached headquarters, and comparatively few works written in English appear before the middle of the seventeenth century; indeed, they are not found in appreciable numbers until after 1680. A trenchant criticism of the working of these early Indexes was given by Thomas James, the first librarian of the Bodleian Library. ‘They agree no better than

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clocks, varying oftentimes from themselves, and all of them from the sun,' he wrote in 'Mystery of the Indices Expurgatorii,' a chapter in his 'Treatise of the Corruption of Scripture.' This work was published in 1610 as a reply to Gretzer, who, in 1603, issued a book with the purpose of vindicating the literary censures of the Romanists. James was a man of great learning and esteemed by some 'a living library.' He was skilled in deciphering MSS., and his 'Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis,' which included a list of the MSS. in the College Libraries at Oxford and Cambridge, besides critical notes on the text of Cyprian's 'De Unitate Ecclesiæ,' and of Augustine's 'De Fide,' was placed upon the Index in 1601.

In 1627 he wrote a book entitled 'Index Generalis Librorum Prohibitorum a Pontificiis, una cum Editionibus expurgatis vel expurgandis . . . in Usus Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ,' in which he begged scholars in general and the curators of the Bodleian in particular to procure wherever possible such works as had been condemned and expurgated. He was fortunate in having special facilities for examining many of the original prohibitory catalogues, which have remained in the Bodleian Library, being originally presented to Sir Thomas Bodley by the Earl of Essex, who captured the library of Jerome Osorius, successively Bishop of Sylvas and of Algarva, as a result of the expedition to Cadiz in 1596. It must be remembered that the Expurgatory Catalogues were originally distributed with the utmost caution, and only for the inspection and possession of those who required them for the purposes of executing

their provisions. These Indexes dealt solely with works which demanded the expurgation or alteration of specific passages. The Prohibitory Indexes, on the other hand, received more extensive publicity, at least in Catholic countries, and it was their function to condemn works *in toto*. The first Expurgatory List, pure and simple, which was also the last presented by Rome to the world, was issued under the auspices of Brasichellen in 1607 and speedily withdrawn. In later years the Expurgatory Index, more correctly termed the 'Index Expurgandorum' than the 'Index Expurgatorius,' appeared in conjunction with, or as a supplement to the 'Index Prohibitorum.'

After the condemnation of James's 'Ecloga,' no books written by Englishmen were placed upon the Roman Index until five or six years later, when the Gunpowder Plot was the indirect cause which led to the entry thereon of a number of works by English writers. Immediately upon the discovery of the plot the Government made it their object to obtain evidence of the complicity of the priests. Owen, the Jesuit, and Baldwin were under the protection of the Archduke, and therefore unassailable; Gerard and Greenaway contrived to escape; Garnet, being executed, was, of course, regarded as a martyr by the Catholics. 'A True and Perfect Relation of the whole Proceedings against the late Most Barberous Traitors, Garnet a Jesuite and his Confederats,' was published by authority in 1606, and a Latin translation of the work by W. Camden, published in London, 1607, was condemned in the Decree of the 13th December, 1608. This

publication brought forth a number of controversial works.

The imposition of a new oath of allegiance, framed for the purpose of making a distinction between the Catholics who upheld the Pope's deposing power and those who were willing to denounce this tenet, was an outcome of the Plot, and at the same time the source from which a number of works appeared upon the Roman Index. The Apology written by King James I. under the title of 'Triplici Nodo triplex Cuneus,' 1607, was included in the Decree of the 9th July, 1609. His 'Basilikon Doron,' issued in 1599, had already been condemned in 1606. These works were followed by 'Meditatio in Orationem Dominicam' and 'Meditatio in cap XXVII. evangelii S. Matth. V. 27, 28, 29,' in 1619 and 1620 respectively. It is considered probable that William Barclay, author of 'De Regno et Regali Potestate adversus Buchananum, Brutum, Boucherium et reliquos Monarchomachos,' after the publication of 'Basilikon Doron' was induced to remove from France to England, in the hope that James might show special favour to a champion of his own views regarding the divine right of kings. James offered him high preferment on the condition that he renounced the Catholic faith. Barclay, however, returned to Paris in 1604, and died four years later. His treatise 'De Potestate Papæ' was issued by his son John Barclay, in 1609, and condemned the same year and again in 1613. The work, which was directed against the claims of the Pope to exercise authority in temporal matters over ruling

sovereigns, created a distinct impression in Europe, and involved Barclay the younger in a controversy with Cardinal Bellarmine, who himself published an elaborate treatise against it. John Barclay's 'Satyricon,' issued pseudonymously, had been previously condemned, and his answer to Bellarmine, 'Pietas, sive publicæ et privatæ, pro parente vindiciæ' appeared in the Index in April, 1613. Three years later he quitted England for Rome, a step which he himself declared to be induced by penitence for having published and defended the views held by his father regarding the extent of papal authority. His work continued to be prohibited at Rome, but he received a pension from Paul V., and was well received by Bellarmine. Notwithstanding, he continued to produce controversial works.

Another author whose books were an outcome of the controversy arising from the Oath of Allegiance was the Benedictine monk, Thomas Preston, who wrote under the name of Roger Widdrington. He set himself up as the champion of the condemned oath against the Pope's deposing power, and published several treatises against Bellarmine, Suarez, Fitz-Herbert, and others. After maintaining his opinions for some time he eventually renounced them, his life being threatened by 'the rigid Papalins.' Two of his writings were condemned by the Decrees of the 16th March, 1614, and the 3rd October, 1616, respectively, and his 'New Year's Gift for English Catholics,' published anonymously, shared a similar fate in 1620.

Books which may be mentioned in the same category are George Blackwell's 'His Answeres upon

sundry his Examinations,' 1610, William Barret's 'Jus Regis,' 1612, and George Hakewill's 'Scutum Regium,' 1621. Downname's 'Papa Anti-Christus,' which appeared in 1620, was not included among the prohibited books until 1677, and 'A Seasonable Discourse, showing how that the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy contain nothing which any good Christian ought to boggle at, by W. B.,' was condemned still later.

A crisis in the religious struggle in Ireland was reached early in 1648. On the 20th May of this year the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics agreed to a cessation of arms with Inchiquin, and adherents to this truce were excommunicated by Rinuccini, the Papal nuncio in Ireland. The Council, with Peter Walsh at its head, repudiated this measure and appealed to Rome, an episode which caused considerable controversy in Ireland. A work on this subject, 'Vindiciarum Catholicorum Hiberniæ ad Alitophilum libri duo,' was condemned in 1652. Written under the pseudonym of Philopater Irenæus, it is attributed in the catalogue of the Grenville Library and by Brunet to Richard Bellings, and a cross-reference to his name is in the Roman Index. Bellings was the Secretary of the Irish Confederate Catholics, and was sent to Rome to interview Pope Innocent X. He was undoubtedly in the thick of the controversy, and was very probably the real author of the defence in question. By other authorities, however, Father Callaghan is said to be responsible for the work, and it appears under his name in the British Museum catalogue.

Of all Walsh's controversial writings the only one which is in the Index stands under Valesius, Petrus, ‘Causa Valesiana Epistola, Ternis Prælibata in antecessum Fusioris Apologiæ,’ etc., condemned the 4th July, 1689, although published five years previously. It was written in Latin and addressed to the Continent rather than to England, a fact which no doubt contributed to its notoriety. The appendix contains a strong attack on Gregory VII. by Raymond Caron. In spite of the fact that the latter issued various controversial tracts on this very Irish question, the only one of his writings included in the Index is ‘Apostolatus Evangelicus Missionariorum Regularium per Universum Mundum Expositus.’

Two works condemned in 1682 connected with the same subject were ‘English Loyalty vindicated by the French Divines: or a Declaration of three-score Doctors of Sorbone for the Oath of Allegiance done in English by W. H.,’ London, 1681, and ‘The Catechist catechized, or Loyalty asserted in Vindication of the Oath of Allegiance against a new Catechism set forth by a Father of the Society of Jesus,’ by Adolphus Brontius.

This practically completes a list of the writings on this topic which were placed upon the Index. Many undoubtedly escaped which might consistently have been added. To mention only one instance, a pamphlet containing much heretical matter, which was reprinted thirty or forty times and appeared in Gothe's ‘A Papist Misrepresented and Represented,’ entitled ‘Roman Catholic Principles in reference to God and the King,’ was not

brought to the notice of the authorities. That Roman Catholics were keenly alive, however, to writings which touched even lightly upon the subject of the Oath of Allegiance may be presumed from the fact that in 1617 Thomas Dempster's '*Antiquitatum Romanarum Corpus Absolutissimum*' suffered censure on account of a reference to the oath in the dedication to James I. of England, and in a few lines in the body of the work. Another book by the same author which is in the Index is '*Scotia Illustrior*,' a result of his extraordinary desire to exalt the renown of his native country, and claim for Scotland the origin of many distinguished personages connected with the Church, which evoked a reply from Ireland, '*Hiberniæ sive antiquioris Scotiæ Vindiciæ*,' likewise condemned.

During the period covered by controversy in religious circles about the temporal power of the Pope, a number of works varying in their cause of offence to Rome had suffered the displeasure of those in authority there. The works of Isaac Casaubon were not prohibited until after his death. Born in Geneva, he became a naturalised Englishman, and though known chiefly as a classical scholar, he was in reality a profound student of theology. About 1598 he first wrote to Baronius concerning his criticism of the '*Annals*,' and after some months Baronius despatched to him the eighth volume, with a friendly intimation that he thought Casaubon was knocking at the door of the Church. It was indeed reported at headquarters that he had turned Roman Catholic. Cardinal du Perron attempted to win him over definitely, and

Clement VIII. is said to have offered him a pension, which he refused. In 1603 the correspondence between himself and Baronius was at its height, Baronius profiting by the corrections of his work suggested by Casaubon at this time. It was not until 1614 that Casaubon published his criticism of the 'Annals,' 'De Rebus Sacris et Ecclesiasticis Exercitationes XVI ad Baronii Annales,' condemned in July of the same year, the month in which he died. The 'Epistolæ . . . adjecta est epistola de morbi ejus mortisque causa; deque iisdem narratio R. Thorii,' was not placed upon the Index until 1640.

Casaubon's friend, Hadrian Saravia, wrote in 1590 his first work, 'De Diversis Ministrorum Evangelii Gradibus,' a treatise in which he defended episcopacy as the scriptural and primitive form of church government. A retort came from Beza, which elicited Saravia's reply in 1594 entitled 'Defensio Tractationis de Diversis Ministrorum Evangelii Gradibus,' not condemned until 1618.

The next book of importance which suffered the extreme penalty of censorship was the 'Examen Trophæorum Congregationis Prætensæ Anglicanæ Ordinis S. Benedicti,' 27th November, 1624, followed the month after by 'Dissertatio contra Æquivocationes,' both by John Barnes, the former published anonymously. His 'Catholico-Romanus pacificus,' on the other hand, was not condemned until 1682, and an excerpt of the work published separately, some twenty years later. Barnes was a Benedictine monk, who had studied divinity at the University of Salamanca under Juan Alfonso Curiel.

His writings embroiled him with those of his own Order, and he was sternly rebuked by the authorities. In the end he was conveyed to Rome and thrust into a dungeon of the Inquisition by command of the Pope.

Of the many strange writings from the pen of Robert Fludd, the medical mystic, only one was noticed at Rome, namely the '*Utriusque Cosmi . . . metaphysica atque technica Historia*,' prohibited in 1625. Why this work in particular underwent judgment it would be difficult to state, since the others were quite as obnoxious. In 1626 only one English book was condemned, Sir Edwin Sandys's '*Europæ Speculum, or a View or Survey of the State of Religion in the Western Parts of the Worlde*.' Sandys, who was the grandson of the Archbishop of York, wrote his survey at Paris, and dedicated it to Whitgift. It was printed without the author's consent from a stolen copy of the manuscript in 1605, under the title of '*A Relation of the State of Religion*.' Fra Paolo Sarpi, who aided him with the work, translated it into Italian in 1625, and in this edition it was placed under the eyes of the authorities. A French translation was made by Diodati in 1626.

The '*Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*,' written by Richard Crakanthorp in answer to M. Ant. de Dominis, and arousing a storm of vituperation, was not published until after the author's death, and was said to have been held 'the most exact piece of controversy since the Reformation.' It contained offensive remarks against the King of England and the Protestants. It was condemned at Rome

in 1633, and appears in the Spanish Index in Class I. among the works of the worst malefactors. The author's portrait, with verses underneath, was prohibited in English or any other language. Another book condemned in the same year was Lord Herbert of Cherbury's ‘De Veritate prout Distinguitur a Revelatione, a Verisimili, a Possibili et a Falso.’ This was first published in Paris in 1624, and was entirely philosophical in tendency. An exposition of his religious views was contained in his ‘De Religione Gentilium,’ which appeared after his death, and was not condemned until 1707. The same decree includes J. Musæus's treatise against this work, in which the name appears as ‘Eduardum Herbert Dechem-Puris, Baronum Anglum.’ Benedict XIV. altered the ‘Dechem-Puris’ into ‘Cherbury,’ but entered the two dissertations separately. This form has been rectified, however, in the edict of Gregory XVI. Lord Herbert's other religious writings, such as ‘Religio Laici’ and ‘Ad Sacerdotes de Religione Laici’ escaped censorship.

The mystic symbols O. O. appear in the Roman Index attached to the name of Thomas Hobbes, and indicate *Omnia Opera*, all works condemned. Hobbes was keenly interested in the philosophical movements of Europe, and in 1626 gained the intimacy of Galileo at Florence. He was also received at Paris into the circle of scientists, of which Mersenne, the friend of Descartes, was the centre: intimates whose writings were of course most rigidly suspect at Rome. The decrees of the 5th October, 1649, 29th August, 1701, and

the 7th May, 1703, prohibited his writings, the 'Leviathan,' containing bitter attacks on the papacy, appearing in the last. Blackburn's 'Life of Hobbes,' first published in 1681, was placed upon the Index in 1702.

A less obviously heretical book which suffered penalty at the hands of Rome far more quickly than the works of Hobbes was the 'Religio Medici' by Sir Thomas Browne. This famous treatise, which was an attempt to combine daring scepticism with implicit faith in revelation, was surreptitiously published in 1642, and secured immediate attention, being prohibited three years later. Thirty-three English editions made their appearance between 1642 and 1881, according to Dr. Greenhill's bibliography, and many translations appeared in Latin, Dutch, French, and German. Browne's orthodoxy was vigorously assailed abroad, and whilst considered to be nominally a Protestant, he was held by some to be in reality a Roman Catholic. The treatise remains upon the Index to this day.

Owen's 'Epigrammata,' published in London in 1612, was condemned thirty years later. In the Spanish Indexes the work was freely expurgated, probably on account of the satires directed against the monks. One of the passages said to have been considered particularly offensive is contained in the third collection of epigrams:

An Petrus fuerit Romæ, sub iudice lis est;
Simonem Romæ nemo fuisse negat.

For this and similar hits, Owen's uncle, a Roman

Catholic, was declared to have ‘dashed his name out of his last will.’

Philosopher and controversialist, Thomas White, who wrote under such pseudonyms as Albus, Blackloe, etc., raised by the expression of his opinions a host of adversaries in all quarters. His works were condemned wholesale by the Spanish Inquisition, and stand in the Roman Index under decrees dated 1655, 1657, 1658, 1661, and 1663. In particular his treatise on the ‘Middle State of Souls’ and the ‘Institutiones Sacrae’ caused great scandal. White attacked the personal infallibility of the Pope, but eventually was forced to recant his opinions, and submitted his writings unreservedly to the judgment of the authorities of the Holy See.

Bacon’s writings suffered more at the hands of the Spanish Inquisition than from the censorship at Rome. In Sotomayor’s Index (Spanish, 1640) two authors are mentioned, Francis Bacon and Francis Verulam, and this is not corrected until half a century later. In Vidal Marin’s Index (Spanish, 1707) the comprehensive O. O. is placed after the author’s name. In the Roman Index the ‘Advancement of Learning,’ Book IX., alone is mentioned, with the phrase ‘Until corrected, attached under a decree of the 24th of July, 1668.’ Needless to say, no corrections having been made, it stands upon the Index still.

At this period gaps of several years occur between the prohibition of writings by Englishmen. Only two books were condemned at Rome in the seventies, namely (1670) John Durel’s ‘Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ . . . Vindiciæ,’ a vindication

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of the English Church against schismatics, published in 1669 with a dedication to Charles II., and (1675) 'A View of all the Religions in the World, together with a Discovery of all known Heresies,' by Alexander Ross. This author must not be confused with Alexander Ross, D.D., a contemporary Episcopal minister at Aberdeen, and is best remembered by the couplet in 'Hudibras':

There was an ancient sage philosopher
That had read Alexander Ross over.

Ross was a theologian and historian as well as a philosopher, and he may well have aroused the animosity of the Roman Catholics by the scurrility he used in his arguments.

Several English names appear on the lists before the end of the seventeenth century. In the decree of 1682 the 'Syntagma Variarum Ecclesiæ,' etc., by Francis Porter is to be found, reissued later under the title of 'Systema Decretorum Dogmaticorum,' a rare work dedicated to Cardinal Spada. His 'Catechism or Abridgment of Christian Doctrine, Instructions and Prayers for Children, with a Catechism for young Children' and 'The Lives of the Saints' appear in the Spanish Index. 'Operis Historici Chronologici Libri duo,' a work by Robert Baillie, the controversialist, published in Amsterdam in 1663, was prohibited in 1688, and the following year Thomas Smith's 'Miscellanea' shared the same fate. Two other works by this friend of Pepys, *Tograi* Smith as he was called at Oxford, appear in the Roman Index, 'Vitæ quorundam Eruditissimorum et Illustrium Virorum,'

1708, and ‘*De Græcæ Ecclesiæ Hodierno Statu Epistola*,’ 1717, an account of the Greek Church.

A work which has an interesting history is the ‘*Synopsis Criticorum Aliorumque Scripturæ Sacræ Interpretum et Commentatorum*,’ by Matthew Pole or Poole, condemned by the decree of the 24th November, 1692. It was written at the suggestion of William Lloyd, Bishop of Worcester, and the author laboured at it for ten years before it was completed. The prospectus bore the names of eight bishops, five Continental scholars, and other divines. Patrick, Tillotson, and Stillingfleet, as well as four laymen, were constituted trustees of the subscription money. Various difficulties arose in the course of publication, but at length several thousand copies were printed and disposed of. The work, which was written in Latin for scholars, ran into five volumes.

Several books by Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, appear in the Catalogues. ‘*The History of the Reformation in the Church of England*,’ towards which Sir William Jones contributed suggestions, and Evelyn, the diarist, more solid materials, was condemned in 1692. Burnet’s most important work, ‘*The History of his own Times*,’ appeared after his death, and aroused violent antagonism, being subjected to the bitter criticism of Dartmouth and the pungent satire of Swift. It is to be found in the Index under a decree of the 3rd April, 1731. ‘*La Vraie Religion démontrée par l’Ecriture Sainte*,’ a translation by La Serre, and ‘*A Defence of Natural and Revealed Religion*,’ were condemned respectively in 1763, and 1746.

The latter was an abridgment of the sermons delivered at the Boyle lectures.

'The Council of Trent and the Spanish Inquisition, engendering together, brought forth and perfected those catalogues and expurging indexes that rake through the entrails of many an old, good author, with a violation worse than any could be offered to his tomb'; such was the bitter comment uttered by Milton in the 'Areopagitica.' Yet these same authorities treated him with amazing leniency, for of all his controversial writings only one appears, and that condemned by the decree of 1694, '*Literæ Pseudo-Senatus Anglicani, Cromwellii, reliquorumque perduellium nomine ac jussu conscriptæ*'—the posthumous State Papers. His '*Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*,' London, 1651, was not noticed, although it was written in reply to a prohibited work, the '*Defensio regia*' of Salmasius. '*Paradise Lost*' was condemned in one Italian edition only, printed in Verona, 1730, and translated by Paolo Rolli. Probably the preface alone gave offence, for other translations did not undergo censorship, and one by G. C. Cuneo was printed in Rome in 1822.

One of the more glaring inconsistencies of the Roman Index is the appearance thereon of three of the works of Robert Boyle, the natural philosopher and chemist, of whom Addison wrote: 'He is an honour to his country, and a more diligent as well as successful enquirer into the works of nature than any other one nation has ever produced.' A friend of Newton and of Locke, whose writings suffered censorship a generation later at Rome, the probable

extent of his offence might be summed up in Boerhaave's words, that he wrested from nature 'the secrets of fire, air, water, animals, vegetables, fossils.' He bestowed upon theological subjects earnest attention, and founded the 'Boyle Lectures' for the defence of Christianity against unbelievers. The three of his works placed upon the Index in 1695 are: 'Some Considerations Touching the Style of the Holy Scriptures,' 'Of the Seraphic Love, or Motives and Incentives to the Love of God,' and 'Of the High Veneration Man's Intellect Owes to God.' Another innocuous English book heads the list of those condemned in the eighteenth century. John Wilkins, the centre of a brilliant group of philosophers at Wadham College at Oxford, a society of which Boyle was a London member, and which may be said to have been the nucleus from which sprang the Royal Society, published his first work in 1638 anonymously. It was entitled 'The Discovery of a New World,' and attempted to prove that the moon was habitable. This work, which had but little scientific value, was translated into French by Le Sieur de la Montagne, and published at Rouen, 1655, under the title of 'Le Monde dans la Lune.' It was entered in the catalogue under a decree of the 25th April, 1701. The same year is responsible for the prohibition of an equally unimportant work from the scientific point of view—namely, 'The Art of Curing Diseases by Expectation,' a collection of random criticisms on medical practice by Gideon Harvey. The title is ironical, but the book acquired some reputation on the Continent, and was

translated into Latin and edited by Stahl. A book of entirely different character, but one hardly worth the attention of the Church, was 'Usury Explained, or Conscience Quieted in the Case of Putting out Money at Interest, by Philopenes.' The author was a Jesuit, and the son of Sir Robert Huddleston. His book was condemned in 1703.

A series of works containing opinions far more antagonistic to the teachings of Rome came into prominence in the second and third decades of the new century. First among these were the heretical writings of John Selden, containing many digressions on Church questions most displeasing to the authorities. Selden's acquaintance with the Hebrew of the Old Testament and the ancient versions and commentaries was enormous. He was a genuine believer in the Christian religion, but his views on Church methods and ceremonies were expressed with anything but reverence, and it is surprising to find that only five of his works were prohibited, as follows: 'De Synedriis,' 1650-5; 'De Jure Naturali,' 1640; 'De Successionibus,' 1673, 1695; 'De Successione in Pontificatum,' 1638; and 'Uxor Ebraica,' 1645. And these only between the years 1712 and 1716.

No little stir was caused by the appearance of Bernard Connor's 'Evangelium Medici,' in which the author endeavoured to show that the miraculous cures performed by Christ and His apostles were to be accounted for on natural principles. The book first appeared in 1697, and was reprinted at Amsterdam in 1699. Connor's orthodoxy was

naturally impugned, and the ‘*Evangelium Medici*’ was placed upon the Index in 1719. Toland’s ‘*Adeisidæmon*,’ written in Holland, and dedicated to Anthony Collins, was condemned in 1722; but his ‘*Christianity not Mysterious*,’ which in 1696 produced an outburst of controversy, and was, in fact, the first aggressive act in the warfare between the deists and the orthodox which raged during the succeeding generation, does not figure in the list, although it was condemned by the House of Commons to be burnt by the common hangman. It is probably one of the very obvious cases in which no one thinks it worth while to interest those who sit in judgment. Other deists, such as Arthur Bury, the Earl of Shaftesbury, William Whiston, Thomas Chubb, Thomas Morgan, and Lord Bolingbroke, have no writings mentioned in the Roman Index. Collins has only one, ‘*The Discourse of Free-Thinking*,’ translated into French, and condemned in 1715.

‘*The Practice of Piety*,’ prohibited in 1722, was a devotional work which obtained an extraordinary popularity in Puritan circles. It was based upon a series of sermons preached by the author, Lewis Bayly, Bishop of Bangor, whilst holding the living of Evesham. The book was translated into French, German, and Polish, which no doubt contributed to some extent to the fact of its being brought to the notice of Rome. Tillotson’s sermons, in a French translation, shared a like fate only three years later, on account of his polemic utterances against Roman Catholicism; and another sermon writer, William Sherlock, whose ‘*Sermons Preached*

upon Several Occasions' were edited by White, is named in the decree of the 29th August, 1735.

Of the essayists of the period both Steele and Addison figure in the Index, not, however, on account of their more important works. Urbano Cerri's 'An Account of the State of the Roman Catholic Religion throughout the World,' with Steele's dedicatory letter to the Pope, contained sufficient cause for offence in the dedication alone to occasion its prohibition. Steele's 'Roman Ecclesiastical History of Late Years,' a polemical description of a canonisation, does not appear in the Index. The 'Spectator' was condemned in 1745 in a French version of extracts entitled 'Le Spectateur, ou le Socrate Moderne,' Amsterdam, 1716, six volumes. The 'Remarques sur diverses endroits d'Italie,' translated from Addison, and forming a fourth volume to Misson's 'Nouveau Voyage d'Italie,' was condemned in 1729, and Rucellai's Italian translation of 'The Drummer' shared the same fate, though in this case the sentiments in the preface accounted for its prohibition.

One of the early historical writers in English who underwent censorship was Edward Chamberlayne, although his work, 'Angliæ Notitiæ, or the Present State of England,' was little more than a handbook to the social and political condition of the country. It was first issued anonymously in 1669, with a dedication to the Earl of Carlisle, and reprinted as many as thirty-six times within a century. It was not condemned until 1733. A writer causing great offence was Bernard de Mande-

ville, who in 1705 published a doggerel poem called ‘The Grumbling Hives, or Knaves Turned Honest.’ This was reprinted in 1714 and 1723 under the title of ‘The Fable of the Bees,’ and aroused a storm of disapproval in England. It was said that the author promised to destroy his own book by fire if it were found to be immoral, but there is no record of this challenge having been accepted. Several other works written by de Mandeville were equally obnoxious in character, but the only other one appearing in the Index is his ‘Thoughts on Religion, the Church and National Happiness.’

‘An Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government in England,’ published anonymously, is the only one of Andrew Marvell’s writings condemned at Rome. The treatise produced an immediate sensation. It is written in more direct and forcible style than his earlier pamphlets, and was, indeed, an exceedingly bold satire. The English Government offered a reward of £50 for the discovery of the printer or publisher, and £100 for that of the author. Sir Roger L’Estrange published a reply to it in ‘An Account of the Growth of Knavery under the Pretended Fears of Arbitrary Government and Popery.’ It will be found reprinted in ‘State Tracts during the reign of King Charles the Second.’ Despite all this stir it was not condemned at Rome until 1730.

The only English book prohibited in the year 1733, and one which would naturally be expected to find its way upon the Index shortly after publication, was Alexander Gordon’s ‘Lives of Pope Alexander the Sixth and his son Cæsar Borgia.’

Notwithstanding the prohibition, it was translated into French and published at Amsterdam in 1751.

The eighteenth century novelists were not allowed to escape the arm of ecclesiastical censorship. Smollett and Fielding are immune. Richardson's 'Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded,' translated into French by Abbé Prévost in 1742, appears in the Index two years later, in company with 'Anti-Pamela, or Feigned Innocence Detected,' one of the several skits written upon the book. Daniel Defoe's 'History of the Devil,' harmless enough as regards its theological tendencies, appears in the Catalogue under a decree of 1743, and is also in the Spanish Index. 'Robinson Crusoe' is named in the latter list, although not prohibited at Rome. Sterne appears in the Index under 'Yorick.' 'A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy,' condemned in 1819 with the characteristic remark: 'Opus anglice editum, sed tantum in italica versione ad S. Cong. relatum.' The translator is Ugo Foscolo. A bad translation of Swift's 'Tale of a Tub,' by Haye, was condemned in 1734, and appears in the catalogue of Gregory XVI. (though removed from that of Leo XIII.), doubtless owing to its ridicule of papists as well as dissenters. The same year was fatal to John Locke's 'Essay Concerning Human Understanding,' in a translation by Pierre Coster into French, which appeared at Amsterdam in 1700. A Latin translation, issued in 1701, was prohibited at Oxford, it being expressly stated that no tutors were to read the essay with their pupils. The form in which Newton appears upon the Index is not in the original, but

in a French version of Algarotti's book entitled ‘*Le Newtonisme pour les Dames*,’ condemned in 1738, which barely deserves mention in this place.

During the next twenty years a little group of writers was placed upon the Index, including Francis Osborne, Ralph Cudworth, Richard Bentley, George Berkeley, and Conyers Middleton.

The collective edition of Osborne's works was brought to the notice of the House of Lords in 1676, on the ground that it contained a vindication of a Republican form of government, and was therefore a seditious and treasonable publication. His books were not condemned at Rome until 1736. Of this writer Dr. Johnson said: ‘A conceited fellow. Were a man to write so now, the boys would throw stones at him.’

Cudworth, whose ‘*True Intellectual System of the Universe*’ was condemned in 1739, was, according to Hallam, one of those ‘whom Hobbes had roused by the atheistic and immoral theories of the “*Leviathan*.”’ Dryden declared that he ‘had put the arguments against the Deity so well that some thought he had not answered them,’ and certainly he was unable to escape the slander of bigots. Bentley, the first Boyle lecturer, is likewise only responsible for one prohibited book, the ‘*Remarks upon a Late Discourse of Free-Thinking*,’ 1740, issued under the pseudonym of Lipsiensis Phileleutherus. The ‘*Alciphron*,’ by George Berkeley, condemned two years later, was published anonymously in 1732, became speedily popular, and was translated into French. It provoked replies from the author of ‘*The Fable of the Bees*,’ from Lord

Hervey, and from Peter Brown, Bishop of Cork. Conyers Middleton's 'Letter from Rome' was condemned in the early part of the second half of the eighteenth century, and resulted from his journey to the Eternal City in 1724. It dealt with the incorporation of pagan beliefs and ceremonies in the Catholic Church, and was applauded by orthodox English divines as an attack upon popery.

The only English encyclopædia to be found in the Roman Index was that issued by Ephraim Chambers in 1728, and this occurs in an Italian translation of the work condemned in 1760.

The latter part of the century is notable for the prohibition of the writings of a group of famous historians, commencing with William Robertson, and including Gibbon, Hallam, Hume and others.

In 1769, ten years after he completed his 'History of Scotland,' Robertson issued the 'History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles the Fifth,' for which he is said to have obtained £4,500, a not inconsiderable sum for a book on such a subject. His fame spread throughout Europe, the work being promptly despatched to France to be translated by Suard. Dr. Johnson remarked, 'I would say to Robertson what an old tutor of a college said to one of his pupils: "Read over your compositions, and wherever you meet with a passage which you think is particularly fine, strike it out."' Rome was more merciless still. The 'History' was prohibited in its entirety in 1777.

Gibbon's 'Decline and Fall' is named only in an Italian translation condemned at Rome in 1783, and is not in the Spanish Index. The first volume of

the ‘History’ had made its appearance at the beginning of 1776, and the famous chapters dealing with the growth of Christianity provoked a series of attacks upon him by some of his countrymen. Volumes II. and III. were published in 1781, and were not prohibited. That much less serious historian, Goldsmith, appears in the Index only in this capacity. His ‘Abridged History of England,’ chiefly derived from Hume, was published in August, 1771, but was not condemned until 1823. Another historical writer, William Roscoe, issued in 1805 ‘The Life and Pontificate of Leo the Tenth,’ which was translated not only into German and French, but also into Italian with much additional matter by Count Bossi. This edition was placed on the Index in 1825, but it is interesting to note that in spite of the prohibition not far short of 3,000 copies were sold in Italy alone.

The complete works of Hume were condemned by the decrees of the 19th January, 1761, and the 10th September, 1827. Most of the works reached Rome in French translations. In the earlier Indexes Hume was entered as ‘Mr. Hume’ and as ‘David Hume,’ but this duplication was corrected in 1881. The only work by this author appearing in the Spanish Index is ‘Dissertations sur les Passions,’ Amsterdam, 1759, condemned 1773.

Hallam’s ‘Constitutional History of England’ and ‘A View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages’ are both entered in the Catalogue under a decree of the 5th August, 1833, the latter in an Italian edition by M. Leoni. Thomas Paine, Priestley, and Lindsey are not named in the Index.

A little group of writers who described the state of society and customs in Rome and Italy generally came under the ban of Rome between 1822 and 1851. Most of these books were entirely innocuous; they included amongst others Lady Sydney Morgan's 'Italy; a Journal of Residence in that Country'; Charlotte Ann Waldie's 'Rome in the Nineteenth Century,' published anonymously; John James Blunt's 'Vestiges of Ancient Manners and Customs discoverable in Modern Italy and Sicily,' and Michael Hobart Seymour's 'A Pilgrimage to Rome,' in which it is quite true certain controversial points were touched upon.

Perhaps the most extraordinary omission of all from the Indexes is the work of Charles Darwin, not one of whose writings was condemned. Erasmus Darwin's 'Zoonomia, or the Laws of Organic Life,' appears under a decree of the 22nd December, 1817. Neither Huxley nor Tyndall is to be found in the Roman Index, unless Tyndall's preface to John William Draper's 'History of the Conflict between Religion and Science' may be considered as offering a separate reason for its condemnation.

Of Jeremy Bentham's numerous writings on jurisprudence four were condemned between 1819 and 1835, to wit, 'Traité de Législation Civile et Pénale,' 1819; 'Three Tracts relative to Spanish and Portuguese Affairs,' 1826; 'Traité des Preuves Judiciaires,' 1828; and 'Deontology, or the Science of Morality,' 1835.

Peter Gandolphy, the Jesuit, after taking Holy Orders was appointed to the mission at Newport, Isle of Wight. Subsequently he was attached to

the Spanish Chapel in London. There he incurred the displeasure of his ecclesiastical superior, Bishop Poynter, by the publication of his ‘Defence of the Ancient Faith’ and ‘An Exposition of Liturgy or Book of Common Prayers,’ etc., both destined to be condemned in a decree of the 27th July, 1818. He was suspended and his works were denounced. Gandolphy left England for Rome, intending to appeal against Bishop Poynter’s decision. In 1816 he obtained an official approbation of the two works from Stephen Peter Damian, Master of Sacred Theology and Apostolic Penitentiary at St. Peter’s, as well as from Francis Joseph O’Finan, Prior of the Dominican Convent of St. Sixtus and St. Clement. The Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, desiring to terminate the controversy, ordered Gandolphy to offer his apologies to his bishop preparatory to resuming his former duties. In April, 1817, he drew up a document of this character which was not considered sufficiently comprehensive, and was followed in July by a full and unconditional apology. The next year, notwithstanding, Gandolphy thought well to resign his chaplaincy.

Two theologians and two logicians suffered censorship between the thirties and the sixties. Of the former Richard Burgess’s ‘Lectures on the Insufficiency of Unrevealed Religion’ (delivered in the English chapel at Rome) is entered in the Index under 1833, and F. Denison Maurice’s ‘Theological Essays’ followed suit in 1854.

Whilst Richard Whately’s ‘Elements of Logic’ appear on the Index under a decree of 1851, his

'Introductory Letters on Political Economy' were not condemned. On the other hand, Mill's 'Logic' was not prohibited, but his 'Principles of Political Economy' suffered under the decree of 1856. The 'Principles' were published in 1848, and in conjunction with the 'Logic' gave 'the essence of the social and philosophical system of the more educated Radicals of the time,' undoubtedly dangerous doctrines in the eyes of Rome.

Among the books placed upon the Index during the last quarter of the nineteenth century are the 'History of the Conflict between Religion and Science,' 1876, by the Anglo-American writer John William Draper, of which a translation by Augusto T. Arcimis appeared at Madrid in that year, William Stroud's 'Treatise on the Physical Cause of the Death of Christ,' 1878, and still in the same year two books by John Charles Earle, namely, 'The Spiritual Body, an Essay in Prose and Verse,' and 'The Forty Days, or Christ between his Resurrection and Ascension.' Articles by St. George Mivart on 'Happiness in Hell,' which made their appearance in the 'Nineteenth Century,' were condemned in 1893, the author's comment and submission being printed in the issue for December of that year.

Mr. Andrew Lang's 'Myth, Ritual and Religion,' and Mr. James Duggan's 'Steps towards Reunion,' prohibited respectively in 1896 and 1898, close the record of condemned books to the end of the nineteenth century. The list is a comparatively brief one in point of numbers, but it must be remembered that in a Protestant country like England there

have been proportionately few Roman Catholic authors of a class whose writings in particular undergo the searching supervision of a thousand eyes, ever ready and watchful to draw the attention of the authorities to any misleading statements or dangerous doctrines that may have entered into an otherwise sound and pious exposition of their opinions. For the main purpose of the Roman Index is not to place under prohibition the perusal of books obviously out of accordance with the teachings of the Church, which she would consider to be simply a work of supererogation, but rather to guide her followers away from such insidious snares and tempting pitfalls as from time to time may beset the pathway of their faith.

It is not claimed that the foregoing summary mentions all works by English writers which have been condemned by the decrees issued under the auspices of the Sacred Congregation of the Index. The entries in the earlier catalogues are frequently inaccurate. Books were placed, now under the author's name, now under the translator's, or again below their title or a foreign adaptation of it. Thus it becomes exceedingly difficult at times to identify them, and perhaps mere chance causes the discovery that an entry commencing ‘Contadinella di S.’ represents a translation of Legh Richmond's ‘The Young Cottager,’ or ‘Storia di Enrichetti e del suo latore’ turns out to be Mrs. Sherwood's ‘Little Henry and his Bearer.’ The ‘Storia di Andrea Dunn’ originally appeared in English, and books by Ashley Sykes, Swinden, Anthony Gilby, and others, have been

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overlooked in discussing the prohibitive lists. More famous authors have not been touched upon. Cranmer appeared in the appendix of the Tridentine Index, also writings by Thomas Cartwright and Miles Coverdale, none of them to be found elsewhere. Knox was not omitted, though his name was ignored for many years. His work passed through several catalogues under 'Blast (the First) of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment and Empire of Women.' In the decrees of Gregory XVI. his name was added, but in the catalogues issued by Leo XIII. the 'Blast' which, as the author himself wrote, 'hath blown from me all my friends in England,' has disappeared. Walton's 'Biblia Sacra Polyglotta' is to be seen in Gregory's pages, but has also been eliminated in later years.

A caution must be given to the unwary against taking as authentic the newspaper accounts of books placed upon the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. Frequently misapprehensions have arisen on this score, and several English writers of the day, whose works have been brought into notice by a report that they have suffered condemnation, have been placed in this position only in the imagination of their readers.

American books, of which very few have filtered through into the hands of the authorities at Rome during the last eighty years, are not specified in this place, but enough works have been named, not only to give some idea of the nature and class of the writings forbidden by the Roman Church, but also to indicate the general tendency and scope

of such prohibition. Although the subject of English condemned books is complete in itself, it is but a part extracted from the whole, and unless it be brought into comparison with the condemned books of other lands, it must not be regarded as a comprehensive guide to the complex machinery which moves the greatest system of literary censorship the world has ever known.

FRANK HAMEL.

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

SEPTEMBER is not a good month in which to write an article of this kind. Publishers all the world over are careful not to issue any book of importance during the holiday season, and in France and Germany that season begins towards the end of June and prevails until the beginning or middle of October. It was, therefore, with great satisfaction that I obtained Marcel's Prévost's new book, 'Féminités.' But judge of my disappointment when, instead of a subtle romance, I find a series of short sketches reprinted from a newspaper on various subjects of no importance. As I have so often before been obliged to state here, there is nothing on the title-page to show that it is not an ordinary novel. The first portion, however, entitled 'l'amour écrit,' on the subject of love-letters, especially those of women, is not without interest, and contains some acute, if satirical, observations on women's letters. Prévost wittily says that the *sujet* of a woman's letter is very rarely its *objet*. Subtle as the proposition is, women who are sincere with themselves—M. Prévost would deny that they ever are—will recognize there a grain of truth. When, however, he speaks of men's letters as 'quelle pauvre littérature!' I do not find myself in

agreement with him. I cannot, of course, draw on my personal experience to prove otherwise, since women naturally do not write me the kind of letters they address to men in whom they have a sentimental interest; but I must say that in ordinary correspondence I find, with very few exceptions, that men write better letters than women. If we turn to letters of the kind that have been published, I maintain that the letters of Robert Browning (I refer only to the love-letters of the pair) are superior as letters to those of Elizabeth Barrett; they possess a quality of strength and directness lacking in hers. The letters of Mérimée and Balzac make a similar impression on me.

Prévost gives, however, a charming letter entitled 'Jouets,' from a lady to her lover. *Lui* is absent and enjoins *elle* to choose two pretty 'bibelots' at some antiquity dealer's in Paris, as her Christmas gift from him, reminding her that Maupassant said 'bibelots' were the toys of grown-up persons. This she denies, and declares that grown-up people, like children, only care for the toys round which they can exercise their imagination. And therefore she declares that 'le jouet d'une femme, c'est son amour.' She concludes thus, 'Sachez qu'en somme je ne vous aime pas pour ce que vous êtes, mais pour ce que je suis grâce à vous, et aussi pour tout ce que mon imagination fait de ce que vous êtes.'

'Paul le Nomade,' by Jules Sageret, is the story of what I may perhaps be allowed to call a 'mariage incompris.' The husband, who married in haste, is annoyed to find that his wife has, to put it

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bluntly, nothing to give him. She is commonplace and stupid, yet possessed of some 'sterling qualities for general wear. She does not in the least understand or sympathise with Paul's roving spirit, roving in the intellectual rather than in the physical sense. He declares that whenever he tries to talk to her on any serious subject that interests him, she invariably replies, 'Le gigot est trop cuit,' or 'Je sens un courant d'air,' or 'Tes ongles, mon chéri!' In the end Paul discovers, like most of us, that he must put up with mediocrity, and once having recognized that fact, finds consolation in two ways, first in his little son, for 'Comment le père d'une merveille telle que toi serait-il tout-à-fait médiocre?' and secondly, because he is superior to other mediocrities, in that 'Je suis un médiocre conscient, tandis que les autres sont médiocres sans le savoir.' The book is quite worth reading, and opens up many questions interesting to ponder.

Remy de Gourmont has reprinted his 'Sixtine,' a novel of 'la vie cérébrale.' The people of whom he writes are mostly all brain and no heart. The hero watches himself intellectually, so to speak, and is very witty in a cynical fashion. He is filled with 'l'indécision analytique,' and the heroine truly says to him 'ô analytique romancier, vous n'avez su jouer de rien.' It is unfortunate that the many witty and thoughtful reflections should be mingled with erotic matter that makes the book unsuitable for ordinary reading.

In German fiction there is little to record. Jakob Wassermann in 'Die Masken Erwin Reiners' has produced a decadent Don Juan, who destroys not

only all the women but most of the men with whom he comes in contact. He is an abnormal person in whom little interest can be felt. The heroine, likewise, is scarcely true to life. She is stupid and inconsequential, and we feel little pity for troubles she could easily have averted. The personage that is most alive is her wicked old mother. But it is very curious to note how in contemporary novels each person seems as if placed in a glass case in a museum without connection with the world outside. In real life, unfortunately, or perhaps I should say fortunately, we are not able to arrange or lead our lives without reference to a large number of other people who are in more or less close relations with us.

A quite readable tale by Anny Demling is 'Oriol Heinrichs Frau.' It is published in Fischer's 'Bibliothek zeitgenössischer Romane,' at the low price of one shilling. It is a story of the Vosges, and describes vividly the lives and customs of the village folk who are chiefly engaged in growing vines. It is the history of an unsuitable marriage, of the clashing of natures that were never intended to house together.

In 'Herzensheilige,' by Diedrich Speckmann, we have a simple, innocuous tale, or rather set of tales, breathing what we may characterise as 'urdeutsche Gesundheit.' Half a dozen men and women, no longer young, husbands and wives, spend a summer holiday together in a district of moorland and forest, and of an afternoon read aloud the life of the painter, Ludwig Richter, and tell each other stories of persons affection for whom has influenced their lives,

and who have thus become for them 'Herzensheilige.'

A rather curious German play has come into my hands, entitled 'König Karl der Erste. Ein geschichtliches Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen.' The author is Siegfried Hecksher. The hero is Charles Stuart, who is portrayed as a kind of Shakespearian Richard II. The play covers his career from his demanding the five members (1642) until he passes out to execution (1649). The royalists are depicted as pleasure-loving and frivolous, and speak in verse, the roundheads as stern and ascetic, and speak in prose. But Cromwell speaks in verse in his interviews with the king. The scene of the king's trial reminds us strongly of the deposition scene in Shakespeare's 'Richard II.' It is all rather crude, but the king makes a pathetic figure, and some quite good poetry is put into his mouth.

'Souvenirs d'un Parisien,' by François Coppée, is somewhat disappointing. It is a mere fragment of autobiography, and much of it was used in his charming volume, 'Toute une Jeunesse,' and to far better advantage. It contains a great many good stories about the men of letters who were his contemporaries and friends—one especially, which, however, cannot be repeated here, giving the ostensible reason why Théophile Gautier was not elected a member of the Academy. But perhaps the most interesting chapter is that entitled 'Les belles phrases de Gustave Flaubert.' Flaubert, it seems, was fond of what I suppose we should vulgarly call 'spouting' phrases and sentences that pleased him from the great prose writers—Bossuet

and Chateaubriand, for choice. He used to say, 'Je ne sais qu'une phrase est bonne que lorsqu'elle a passé par mon *gueuloir*,' and Coppée observes that an admirable anthology of French prose might have been made—

'un choix exquis de modèles du style pompeux et magnifique, si l'on recueillait les nombreuses phrases empruntées par Gustave Flaubert aux écrivains classiques et modernes et soumises par lui à la redoutable épreuve du *gueuloir*.'

A very amusing anecdote is told of the uses to which Flaubert put this habit of his on one occasion. One day, when Coppée was visiting Flaubert,

'le piano d'une voisine jouait depuis plus d'une heure je ne sais quelle sonate, et le bruit du monotone instrument, arrivant par les fenêtres ouvertes, couvrait notre conversation. Je vis alors Flaubert faire de son amour du beau style et de son goût pour la prose déclamée un usage bien inattendu. "Attendez, dit-il soudain. La voisine m'assomme avec son piano. Mais je me venge et je lui 'gueule' du Chateaubriand!"

'Et, d'une voix tonitruante, il égrena la chapelet de ses morceaux favoris. Et comme la sonate persistait, il continua, en déployant toute la sonorité et toute la puissance de son organe.

'Nous entendîmes alors la voisine fermer son piano d'un coup sec. Une fois de plus, la littérature avait affirmé sa supériorité sur la musique.'

The centenary of Maurice de Guérin on the 5th August last called forth one book and some magazine articles. The volume by Abel Lefranc gives a most interesting sketch of Guérin's life, and all

the needful history of his literary work. He died at the age of twenty-nine, and as M. Doumic says in his article, Guérin was neither a great man nor a great writer, but he was a delightful personality, strongly impressed by external nature, and endowed with the gift of expressing the feelings it aroused in him. Centenary celebrations are out of place in such a case: it is more becoming to kneel at Guérin's tomb in silence and solitude. And, moreover, the delightful essays of Sainte-Beuve and Matthew Arnold are all we need to help us to appreciate Guérin. His descriptions of nature are full of that beauty which lends a charm to the books of our own Izaak Walton, Gilbert White, Mary Russell Mitford, and Richard Jefferies. They are even something more, for though in prose, they are instinct with poetry of the quality we find in Cowper and in Wordsworth.

Louis Maigron, in '*Le Romantisme et les Mœurs: essai d'étude historique et sociale d'après des documents inédits*,' has produced a quasi-philosophical sketch of the Romantic influence on French society. He treats neither of literature nor of æsthetics, but of psychology and history. Maigron believes that we can be convinced of the evil influence of a writer while admiring his genius. In the preface he discusses the general question whether literature has an influence on society, and comes to the conclusion that, any way, in the Romantic period, society lent something to literature which literature returned with interest. Among the subjects treated are Romanticism and the Individual, Romanticism and the Man of Letters, his new

importance in the nineteenth century. It is a careful and interesting piece of work and deserves to be read by students of literary history and evolution.

The last book of Jean Moréas, 'Variations sur la vie et les livres,' is in a way his 'testament littéraire.' It contains a variety of brief sketches, sometimes a mere half-page, on men and books. It is all very melancholy, breathing perhaps the kind of melancholy that is really a sort of cowardice under the inevitable disappointments of love and friendship. But Moréas explains it otherwise. 'Voilà,' he writes, 'pourquoi un cœur vraiment élevé pour peu qu'un destin envieux s'en mêle, goûte à la fin les amères délices de la solitude.' He forgets that more often than not we are ourselves responsible for such disappointments, since we are apt to attribute qualities and capabilities to the persons we care for, which in reality they do not possess.

A book of 550 pages on 'Emile Augier et la Comédie Sociale,' seems surprising to us who pay scant attention to our contemporary dramatists or drama. But Augier has often been compared to Molière as a great observer of human nature. His study of the French *bourgeoisie* under Louis Philippe and the Second Empire is of unique value both for the literary critic and the historian of manners. He created the character of M. Poirier, one which deserves to rank with any in Molière's gallery.

Excellent contemporary theatrical criticism may be found in Léon Blum's 'Au Théâtre: réflexions critiques.' It is a *chronique* of the Paris theatres from September, 1909, to June, 1910. It contains among other things a most interesting account of

the performance of Shakespeare's 'Coriolanus' (in French) at the Odéon last April.

While dealing with drama, I may mention a big book on Molière by Pietro Toldo. It is in French and is entitled 'L'œuvre de Molière et sa fortune en Italie.' About 160 pages deal with general description and criticism, and about 400 with Molière in Italy. We learn which of the comedies were most played in Italy, and how they were criticised by the Italians. A very interesting section deals with Italian imitators of Molière, the chief of whom is, of course, Goldoni. There are some capital pages on the folly of representing the person of Molière, or indeed, of any great writer on the stage. The modern Italians seem fond of this, for we note in 1907, 'La fin de Molière,' by Janetti, and in 1909, 'Molière et sa femme,' by Girolamo Rovetta.

For a series entitled 'Muses Romantiques' Léon Séché has written a delightful biography of a delightful woman, Delphine Gay, Mme de Girardin, especially in her relations with Lamartine, Victor Hugo, Balzac, Rachel, Jules Sandeau, Dumas, Eugène Sue, and George Sand. We have all wept at her pathetic play, 'La joie fait peur,' and laughed at her tale, 'La Canne de M. Balzac,' and been deeply interested in 'La Croix de Berny,' perhaps always excepting the novels of Richardson, that past master in the art, one of the best novels in letter form, which she wrote in collaboration with Gautier, Sandeau, and Mèry. Her part in the literary society of her time is thus described by Séché:

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'Pendant vingt-cinq ans elle fut le trait d'union entre tous les rivaux de talent et de gloire qui fréquentèrent son salon de la rue Lafitte ou des Champs-Élysées. Elle empêcha Victor Hugo de se brouiller avec Lamartine; elle resta l'amie de Balzac envers et contre son autocrate de mari. Elle encouragea Gautier, consola George Sand; elle eut pour chacun le mot qui charme, et toujours et partout son beau rire—même quand elle avait envie de pleurer.'

Another series concerning women is 'Les Femmes Illustres,' which is to include 'Reines et impératrices; favorites et courtisanes; héroïnes; actrices et cantatrices; femmes écrivains et femmes arrivistes; femmes savantes; et grandes dames.' Distinguished contemporary writers have been secured to carry out the scheme, and so far there have appeared 'Héloïse, amante et dupe d'Abélard,' by Maurice de Waleffe, 'Marie Stuart,' by Augustin Filon, and 'Mme. de Sévigné,' by Emile Faguet. Among Englishwomen to be included are Queen Elizabeth, Queen Victoria, and George Eliot.

* * * * *

The following recently published books deserve attention:—

Discours de Danton. Édition critique. Par André Fribourg.

A publication of the 'Société de l'histoire de la révolution française.' It contains an introduction and notes and very full indices.

Apologie pour Fénelon. Par Henri Bremond.

It covers something of the same ground as Lemaitre in the volume noticed in 'THE LIBRARY' for July, but the point of view is rather religious than literary, and is chiefly concerned with the relations between Fénelon and Bossuet.

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Lady Hamilton (1763-1815) d'après de nouveaux documents. Par A. Fauchier-Magnan.

The author claims to have searched all sources likely to prove anything about her.

Étude sur l'évolution intellectuelle de l'Italie de 1657 à 1750 environ. Par Gabriel Mangain.

A learned work beginning with the condemnation of Galileo and its consequences, and giving in great detail the movement and progress made in the hundred years.

Thomas Sébillet. Art poétique françoys. Édition critique avec une introduction et des notes publiée par Félix Gaffe.

Another of the valuable publications of the 'Société des Textes Français modernes.' Sébillet's 'Art poétique,' printed in 1548, has been hitherto inaccessible. He is the *théoricien* of the school of Marot. The full title of his work is 'Art poétique Françoys pour l'instruction des jeunes studiens et encor peu avance'z en la Poésie Françoise.'

Le capitaine Gerbaud 1773-99. Les volontaires de la creuse en 1791. L'expédition en Sardaigne. La captivité en Espagne. Occupation de Rome. Les Campagnes d'Égypte et de Syrie. Documents publiés et annotés par Maxime Mangerel.

The journal is very curious, and forms a valuable source for the history of the campaign in Egypt. The letters are less valuable as documentary history, but afford interesting information concerning the state of Italy after Bonaparte's campaigns.

Napoléon et le roi Murat 1808-15 d'après nouveaux documents. Par Albert Espitalier.

The new documents deal particularly with the two treaties of Murat with Austria, which give the key to his conduct in 1814.

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P. Gentil de Vendosme et Antoine Achélis. Le siège de Malte par les Turcs en 1565 publié en Français et en Grec d'après les éditions de 1567 et de 1571. Par Hubert Pernot.

A volume of the valuable 'Collection de Monuments pour servir à l'étude de la langue et de la littérature néo-helléniques.'

Chinesische Kunstgeschichte. Von Oskar Münsterberg. Vol. I.

A work containing many beautiful illustrations and particularly interesting in view of the exhibition of Chinese pictures at the British Museum. Vol. II. will deal with arts and crafts (*Kunstgewerbe*) and architecture.

ELIZABETH LEE.

JOHN PHILLIP—NOTES FOR A BIBLIOGRAPHY.

(*Concluded.*)

10.

IN 1580, as Hunter acutely observed in his 'Chorus Vatum,'¹ we find 'Iohn Philippes' mentioned by Abraham Fleming in his 'Bright Burning Beacon' as among those who had written of the earthquake of 6th April that year (8^o, 1580, sig. A4^v). This allusion is no doubt the source of the 'Quaedam de terre motu' mentioned by Cooper in his 'Athenae Cantabrigienses' (ii. 99), for the work itself does not seem to be preserved.

11. The next year saw the publication of a tract which recalls to some extent our author's earliest venture. It differs from his effusion on the Chelmsford trial in being in prose, but ranges itself with it as an attempt to turn the sensation of the hour to purposes of pious edification. The title-page is a sufficient index to the contents:

The wonderfull worke of God shewed vpon a chylde, whose name is William Withers, being in the towne of Walsam, within the Countie of Suffolk: who being eleuen yeeres of age, laye in a Traunce the space of tenne dayes,

¹ British Museum, Addit. MS. 24488, fol. 41 (not 69 as given in D. N. B.).

without taking any manner of sustenance, and at this present lyeth, and neuer speaketh, but once in twelue, or foure and twentie houres, and when he commeth to himselfe, he declareth most straunge and rare thinges, which are to come, and hath continued the space of three weeks. [Motto from Ps. l. 1.] Imprinted at London, by Robert Waldegraue, dwelling in the Strond, neere vnto Sommer-sette house. Anno 1581.

This tract, which is a small octavo (A-B⁸, first and last leaves blank ?) is dedicated thus: 'To the right worshipful and vertuous gentleman, M. Edward Denny Esquire. Iohn Phillip, his humble well willer in the Lorde, wisheth the feare of God, peace and prosperitie in our Lorde and mercifull Sauour Christ Iesus.' This epistle, which occupiess four pages, is subscribed: 'Your worships most humble and faithfull welwiller in the Lorde. Iohn Phillip.' Then follows the text, filling thirteen pages, and after this 'A godly and most fruitful Prayer, to be sayd of euery faythfull Christian, to obtaine pardon and remission of sinnes in the blood of the Lambe Iesus Christ, and to appease his heauie indignation, which threatneth our destruction for the vse of our impietie,' which fills seven pages more.

The only recorded copy of this tract is in the British Museum, and the date at the foot of the title-page is so mutilated as to be open to considerable doubt.¹ That it is in fact 1581 is shown by certain entries in the Stationers' Register, which as

¹ This mutilation has taken place since the volume was in the possession of Humphrey Dyson, whose signature on the title-page has also been partly cut away.

being of some interest in themselves may be here quoted. The first is dated 9th January, 1580/1, and runs: 'Roberte walgrave Tollerated vnto him by the wardens, The wounderfull worke of god shewed vpon a Childe in Walsham in the Countie of Suffolke lyenge in a Traunce . . . vj^d.' It was clearly in pursuance of this licence that Waldegrave issued his edition. But he had hardly done so before he parted with his rights in the piece, for on 13th January we read: 'Edward White Assigned ouer to him from Robert walgraue the thinge of the childe abouemenconed . . . vj^d. White, indeed, seems to have been collecting trifles on this no doubt absorbing topic, for on the 16th we read: 'Edward white Tollerated vnto him by master watkins a ballad intituled the wounderfull worke of god shewed vppon a Childe at Walsam . . . iiij^d. (Arber, ii. 386-7.)

12. To the same year belongs a work which must, I think, be reckoned as doubtful. The sermons of Calvin were favourite reading in the more Protestant circles of Elizabethan England, and various editions, some collected, some of isolated discourses, issued from the press. To one of the latter, 'A Sermon of . . . master Iohn Caluine . . . containing an exhortation to suffer persecution for followinge Iesus Christe and his Gospell [on Heb. xiii. 13], printed by R. Waldegrave in 1581 in the form of a small octavo, was added a poem consisting of twenty four-line stanzas of alternate eights and sixes. It is headed, 'An answeere to the slaunders of the papistes against Christs syllie flock, appointed to the slaughter through fire,' and at the

end is the inscription, 'Finis quod I. P.' This formula certainly suggests our pious ballad-monger, and if the verse is somewhat more crabbed than it was his wont to write, this is easily explained by the fact that he has set himself the unusual task of making his odd as well as his even lines rhyme. The following short specimen will probably suffice :

How desperatly, how desperatly
 can thus the papistes grone,
 To see Gods worde so faythfully,
 through fire to be borne.
 2 Therefore their teeth & tounge they whet
 like a raser so fine,
 Against Christes martyrs for to spet
 their poison and rapine.

.
 19 O noble men of famous England,
 looke well to your doings,
 Let not partakers be your handes,
 of guiltlesse bloodsheddings,
 20 No drop of Faythfull bloodshed is,
 through rage of cruelnesse,
 Which God will not require as his,
 repent therefore and cease.

13. The end of 1581 also saw the last of Phillip's 'Epitaphs.' It does not appear to have been licensed, but a copy of the broadside is preserved in the Huth collection, and is thus described (Huth Cat., and Hazlitt 'Handbook,' 457) :

An Epitaph on the death of the Right honorable and vertuous Lord Henry Wrisley [i.e. Wriothesley], the Noble Earle of South hampton : who lieth interred at

Touchfeelde in the Countie of Hamshyre the 30. day of Nouember 1581, and in the 24. yeare of our most drad and soueraigne Ladie Elizabeth by the grace of God, of England, Fraunce, and Ireland Queene. [at the end] Omnis caro fenum. (q^d.) Iohn Phillip.

There is said to be a wood-cut device at the foot, but whose (if a printer's device is meant) is not stated. The date 30th November may have been that of the funeral at Tichfield, where the earl was buried in accordance with instructions left in his will. He died on 4th October. This effusion is again happily accessible in Lilly's collection of 'Ballads and Broad-sides' (1867, p. 260). Phillip uses the same formulae as before, but I think some advance can be traced in the versification. Thus, while in 1570 he 'warbled' the invitation:

Ye ladyes, leaue your sportes, your pastymes set asyde;
To weepe this ladyes fatall fine, conduictes of streames
prouide:
Cast off your costly silkes, your iuelles nowe forsake,
To decke yourselues in mournynge weedes, now poastyng
haste do make;

he now opens his lament:

You noble peeres, refraine your courtley sportes awhyle,
Cast on your wailefull weedes of woe, Dame Pleasure doo
exile.
Beholde a platforme playne of death, fit for the graue,
Who late inioyed a lyuing soule, as you this season haue;
His birth right noble was, honour beset him rounde,
But Death amidst his lustie yeeres hath shrind him in the
ground.

Once he wrote :

Her corps shall shrowde in claye, the earth her right doth
 craue,
 This ladie yeldes her parent too, her tombe, her cell and
 graue ;
 From whence no kynge nor keysar can, nor ruler bearynge
 swaye,
 For all their force and puissaunce, once starte or go awaye ;
 now in more stately sort :

The Daunce of Death no king nor kayser but must
 trace,
 The duke, the earle, the lord and knight to him must
 yeeld a place ;
 The aged old, the middle sort, the lustie youth in prime,
 To liue on earth cannot inioy the certenty of time.

But most striking is the increase in religious earnestness, even if it fails to find adequate poetic expression. For good Dame Avenet he was content to invoke the 'Muses nyne': not so for young Southampton.

On God his hart was set, in Christ his hope did rest,
 And of the mightie Lord of hoastes this noble earle was
 blest. . . .
 And like a souldier iust by faith thou foughtst the feelde,
 And armst thyself gainst all thy foes, to whom thou
 woldst not yeeld,
 But so didst keepe the fort that all thy foes did flye,
 And lyke a lambe in Iesus Christ preparedst thyselfe to
 die. . . .
 But teares are spent in vaine ; though they suppose him
 dead,
 He liues in heauen where Iesus Christ with glory crownes
 his head.

I.

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And thus, right noble earle, thy last adue receiue,
 To thine auaille behinde thee thou good name and fame
 doest leaue,
 Which so shall conquer Death that Death in thee shall die,
 And moue the sonnes of mortall men to heaue thy praise
 to skie.

14. The next publication that we meet with belongs to 1584. On 13th August that year the following entry was made in the Stationers' Register: 'Hugh Iackson Receaued of him for printing. A Sommon to Repentance, made by Iohn Philllips . . . vj^d. (Arber, ii. 434.) In due course a small octavo tract appeared, with the title:

A Sommon to Repentance. Giuen vnto Christians for a loking Glasse, wherein we may behold our owne deformities, and therein and thereby, we are not onely forewarned of our destructions, but we are learned to humble our selues in these daungerous dayes of wickednesse, before the throane of Gods mercy, that wee maye be preserued from the Lake of damnation in the great and notable day of Christs comming to iudgement. Published by I. P. student of Cambridge. [Text from Matt. iii.] At London, Imprinted by H. Iackson, dwelling in Fleetstreet. 1584.

The collation is A⁺ A-D^s (first leaf blank ?). A four-page epistle bears the heading: 'To the right Honorable Sir Edwarde Osbourne Knight, hir Maiesties Lieftenante, Lorde Mayor of hir Highnes most honorable Cittie London, the right worshipfull Knight Syr Rowland Haiward, Alderman of London, the right worshipfull Mayster Iohn Spencer Alderman and Shriue of London, and the right worshipful [Master?] of the fraternitie, and misterye of Clothworkers. Iohn Phillip the sonne

of Robart Phillip Clothworker disceased, wisheth the feare of God, peace and prosperitie in our mercifull Lord and Sauior Christ Iesus. &c.', and is subscribed 'Your humble and faythful wel willer in the Lord. Iohn Phillip.' The publication, therefore, took place before 29th October, when Sir Thomas Pullison succeeded in the office of Lord Mayor to Edward Osborne, on whom Phillip seems wrongly to have conferred the honour of knighthood. The text of the work occupies sixty-three pages, and is liberally supplied with marginal annotations. A beautiful copy of this volume, supposed to be the only one preserved in a perfect state,¹ has been recently acquired by the British Museum. There is, however, an imperfect copy of a different edition in the Bodleian Library, and this presents interesting variants. It has, namely, a different epistle dedicatory, the heading of which runs: 'To the right worshipful Sir Robert Counstable Knight: Lieftenant of the Ordinaunce, and the worshipful M. Iohn Pouell Esquire, her Maiesties Surueier for her most honorable Tower of London. Iohn Phillips wyseth the feare of God, peace & tranquillitie of conscience, the continuance of happie health, with all other the gifts of grace, proceeding from God the Father, through the intercession of Christ Iesus.' It is subscribed: 'Your worships most humble and faithfull wel-willer in the Lorde Christ. Iohn Phillips'; and in the course of it the author writes: 'I am therefore most humblie to desire

¹ It wants, however, a leaf, presumably blank, before the title.

your worshippes, to take in good part this small myte,¹ namelie, A Sommon to repentance, whereof, as well to stoppe the mouthes of Momus his consorts, as Zoylus his confederates. I haue chosen you to be the Patrons.' This copy, it has been said, is defective: it wants the title and the first page of text. But the original arrangement is easily traceable, and this contains some suggestion that this edition may have been the earlier. For whereas the British Museum edition has the collation A⁴ A-D⁸ (of which the first leaf and the verso only of the last are blank), the Bodleian edition has the collation ⁴A-D⁸ (of which the fourth and last leaves are, presumably, blank), the title (wanting) occupying the first leaf and the text ending on D₇. Clearly this latter should be the earlier arrangement. But if the inference is correct we are confronted by the fact of two editions of the the pamphlet, dedicated to different people, appearing between the middle of August and the end of October, and this would certainly seem to call for some explanation.

15. There is, moreover, some further bibliographical mystery connected with this work, which at the moment it seems impossible wholly to clear up. Cooper in the 'Athenae' (ii. 99) mentions the 'Summons to Repentance,' and gives 1584 and 1590 as the dates of editions, questioning whether it is the same as the 'Fruitful Exhortation,' of which more anon. This it clearly is not, but it presumably is the same as 'The Perfect Path to

¹ In the epistle to Osborne he also speaks of 'this poore mite of mine.'

Paradice, also a Summons to Repentance,' recorded in the D. N. B. as printed in 1590. The D. N. B. also mentions an edition of the same dated 1626 as being in the British Museum, and there, indeed, it is, under a different heading. The title runs:

The perfect Path to Paradice. Contayning most deuout Prayers, and fruitfull Meditations for seuerall occasions . . . Also a Summons to Repentance: opening the nature of sinne, the vse of humiliation, and the true means of preservation. By Iohn Philips, late Preacher of the Word of God . . . Printed at London, by Tho: Purfoot, for Fra: Williams. 1626.

This edition is a duodecimo. There is a dedication to 'Robert Deuorax Earle of Essex and Ewe,' signed 'Iohn Philips.' 'A Summon to Repentance, giuen vnto Christians for a looking Glasse' begins on sig. M₆, and is a revised reprint of the earlier edition, considerably altered. At the end are added some 'Graces before and after meate,' of which this is a specimen:

Giue thanks to God
the Lord of might,
As it becommeth
Christians right,
And euer when
thou seest thy meat,
Remember God
before thou eat,

And then God will
remember thee,
And with his food
will nourish thee,
And after this life
ended is,
We shall remaine
with him in blisse.

God saue his vniuersall Church,
Our noble King defend:
Grant that thy people may enioy,
thy peace vnto the end.

But if the 'Summon to Repentance' was no new work in 1626, neither was the 'Perfect Path to Paradise.' These small devotional works seem to have been readily thumbed out of existence by the devout, and equally readily left to perish of neglect by the worldly, to say nothing of the risks they ran from the spite of religious faction. Of edition after edition no trace now remains, but it is at this point that the books of the Stationers' Company come conspicuously to our aid. Thus from the Register we learn that on 16th January, 1625/6 the 'Perfect Pathway to Paradise' was transferred to F. Williams, whom we have just found publishing an edition, from the widow of Roger Jackson (Arber, iv. 149), while Master Jackson had previously registered his right in the book, as successor to Hugh Jackson deceased, on 22nd July, 1616 (Arber, iii. 593). This is as far as I have traced the book direct, but corresponding to the alleged edition of 1590 occurs the following suggestive entry: 1st June, 1590, 'Thomas orwin. Allowed vnto him for his copies by consent of mistres Iudson to whose Late husband the same are affirmed to have belonged. these ffoure bookes ensuyng vppon condicion that none other person or persons have an Interest to any of them . . . ij' viz. . . . 2. Item the perfect pathway to salvacon conteyning sundry prayers before printed in 32^{do} . . .', while on 26th June following Orwin made over to Thomas Gosson his rights in the same four books, including 'The perfect pathway to salvacon, in 32 and 16' (Arber, ii. 549, 553). Luckily Judson was by no means a prolific printer,

and I had, therefore, little difficulty in running down the following licence, which was in fact the last he ever obtained: 4th October, 1585, 'master Judson Alowed vnto him for his Cotype a booke intituled. the pathwaye to Salvation . . . ij^a pour les pauures et ponitur in computo pauperum.'

The history of the affair seems, therefore, to have been somewhat as follows. In 1584, as we have seen, Jackson entered and published the 'Summon to Repentance,' and in 1585 Judson followed suit with the 'Pathway to Salvation.' In 1590 the title of the latter work was altered to the 'Pathway (or Path) to Paradise,' and the 'Summon to Repentance' perhaps appended by arrangement between Jackson and Orwin or Gosson, to whom Judson's widow's rights had passed. Later on the whole rights in the composite publication came into the hands of Jackson, who may have issued editions now lost, and the widow of whose successor certainly transferred the copy to Francis Williams. At least it seems most reasonable to suppose that the change of title coincided with the amalgamation of the two works, but the statement of the D. N. B. that the edition of 1590 contained the 'Summon,' is apparently only an inference from the fact that that of 1626 does, for no copy is located, and it should be remarked that nothing is said of the addition by Cooper ('Athenae,' ii. 99).

16. And here, under the date 1586, I may interpose what I strongly suspect to be a mare's nest. The writer in the D. N. B. conjectures that our author contributed 'A letter wrytten by I. P. vnto his famyliar frende G. P. teaching remedies against

the bytternesse of Death' to George Gascoigne's 'Droomme of Doomes day.' It is true that such a letter is found appended to the edition of 1586, and the task undertaken by the writer is one which our pious Cambridge puritan would have been as likely as not to set himself. There was, however, an earlier edition of Gascoigne's work, which appeared ten years before, and in this the initials of the letter-writer are given, not as I. P., but as I. B.¹ I am not aware of any evidence to show whether the initials in the later edition are a correction or a misprint.

17. In 1587 Phillip paid his tribute to the memory of Sidney, dead more than a year before at Zutphen, whose funeral at Paul's had lately been the sensation of the hour in London. The only known copy of this quarto tract, formerly in the Heber collection, is now preserved among the Grenville books at the British Museum. The title runs:

The Life and Death of Sir Phillip Sidney, late Lord gouvernour of Flushing: His funerals Solemnized in Paules Church where he lyeth interred; with the whole order of the mournfull shewe, as they marched thorow the cite of London, on Thursday the 16 of February, 1587. At London. Printed by Robert Walde-graue, dwelling without Temple-barre neere vnto Sommerset-house. 1587.

The epistle is headed: 'To the right Honorable Lord Robert Deuorax, Earle of Essex, Vicount

¹ I believe that this fact was first observed by my friend Mr. H. R. Plomer, but he did not publish his discovery, which I subsequently made independently.

Hereford, Iohn Philip his faithfull well willer,
 wisheth increase of honour in this life, and in the
 world to come life euerlasting.' It occupies two
 pages, and is subscribed 'Your Honors most humble
 and faithfull welwiller Iohn Philip.' The Com-
 memoration consists of fifty-four seven-line stanzas,
 over the first of which it pleased Collier to make
 merry ('Poetical Decameron,' ii. 51):

You noble Brutes bedeckt with rich renowne,
 That in this world haue worldly wealth at will:
 Muse not at me, though death haue cut me downe,
 For from my graue, I speake vnto you still.
 Whilst life I had, I neuer ment you ill,
 Then thinke on me that close am coucht in clay,
 And know I liue, though death wrought my decay—

Brutes being, of course, the descendants of Brutus,
 and so Britons. This conceited ghost is made to
 describe at length the details of the public funeral
 with which his material shell was honoured, and
 to narrate the list of those who followed it to
 Paul's, including 'The worshipful company of the
 Grocers richly attired with their Liuary hoodes on
 their shoulders,' at last concluding:

Thus from my graue I bid you all adew.
 Your Sidneis wordes remember, rich and poore,
 Though dead, my life doth daily call to you,
 Thinke yee how death knockes daily at lifes dore,
 Prouide your lampes of oyle, prepare you store;
 My tale is tould, and I my race have runne,
 My bodie earth, my soule the heauens hath wonne.

Virtutis Laus actio.

This elegy on Sidney was thus entered in the the Stationers' Register on 22nd February, 1586/7: 'Robert walgraue. Receaued of him for printinge the life death and order of the funeralles of Sir phillip Sydney knight deceased . . . vj^d' (Arber, ii. 464). It has been reprinted in a volume entitled 'Sidneiana,' issued to the Roxburghe Club in 1837.

18. Phillip was now nearing the end of his literary career, but one more funeral composition was yet to come from his pen. The only known copy of his 'Commemoration of Sir Christopher Hatton,' formerly at Lamport Hall, is now at Britwell, but a reprint of the tract was included in the 'Lamport Garland,' issued for the Roxburghe Club in 1881. The title, there reproduced in facsimile, runs:

Vt hora, sic fugit vita. A Commemoration on the life and death of the right Honourable, Sir Christopher Hatton, Knight, late Lord Chauncellor of England. Wherin triumphant Trueth reuiueh his memorie from the graue: exhorting Nobilitie, Gentrie, and duetifull Subiects, to continue their obedience to God and her Maiestie, and to preuent by pollicie the perilous practises of euery ciuil and forrain enemy. Published by Iohn Phillips. Fidenti sperata cedunt. London Printed for Edward White. 1591.

In the reprint there is an armorial cut facing the title. The epistle is headed 'To the right worshipful Sir William Hatton knight, Sonne adopted and Heire to the right honourable Sir Christopher Hatton, late Lord Chaunceller of England, Iohn Phillips wisheth the feare of God, cōtinuance of

helth, with increase of worship & vertue,' and subscribed 'Your worships most duetifull to c[o]mmaund I. Phillips.' The 'Commemoration,' in sixty-seven six-line stanzas, is as usual written in the character of the deceased, and begins:

You noble peeres, my native Countrimen,
 I need not shew to you my blood nor birth:
 As dust I was, I turne to dust agen,
 I go before, but you must to the earth.
 Yet when, or how, to you it is vnknowne:
 For be you sure the earth doth claime her owne.

Towards the close, however, the author speaks in his own person, ending:

Thus though this Lord vnto the world be dead,
 His faith in Christ the ioyes of heauen hath wonne:
 Sinne, Hell, and Death, he vnder feete dooth treade,
 And liues in blisse, with Christ; Gods onely sonne.
 Then Lordings chaunge your griefes to ioye againe,
 For Hatton liues and death in him is slaine—

a conceit we have met with before in Phillip's elegiac verse.

19. Three undated pieces by our author are recorded. One is a broadside, preserved at Britwell, containing (Hazlitt, 'C. & N.', i. 330)

A Balad intituled, a cold Pye for the Papistes, wherein is containd: The Trust of true Subiects for suppressyng of Sedicious Papistrie and Rebellion: to the maintenance of the Gospell, and the publike Peace of Englande. Made to be songe to Lassiamiza Noate. [At the end:] Finis. Iohn Phillip. Imprinted at London, by William How, for Richard Iohnes and are to be solde, at his shop ioyning to the Southwest doore of Paules Church.

Collier mentions this piece in connection with the licence of 'a ballett intituled a monstreous pye' in 1565-6, but without venturing on an identification ('Extracts from the Stationers' Registers,' i. 128).

20. Then there is:

A fruitfull exhortation giuen to all godly and faithfull Christians: Wherein they are instructed to cloathe themselves with the true and spirituall Adam Christ Iesus, to detest sinne, and to forsake the vaine inticinge pleasure of this wicked world, to vanquish the straying and rebellious lusts of the flesh, and to bring forth the sweet smelling fruites of vnfayned repentance [on Matt. iii. 10]. Thomas Dawson.

Octavo. Undated, but not before 1574. Dedicated to Lettice, Countess of Leicester (Cooper, 'Athenae,' ii. 99).

21. Here, too, must be noticed a piece thus recorded by Cooper ('Athenae,' ii. 99): 'A lantern to light ladies to the palace of honor, by the example of the empress Florence . . . 12mo. n.d. In verse. Dedicated to Mary countess of Kent.'

22. No mention is made by the writer in the D. N. B. of the works of our author yet remaining in manuscript, though the necessary references were given by Cooper from Casley's catalogue of the Royal collection. Two items are preserved, both dedication copies to Lord Lumley. One, contained in MS. Reg. 7. A. xii. (no. 6, fol. 168), has the title partly obliterated, but we can still read: 'Christian and comfortable counsaile for the health and preseruacion of the boddy and the soule,' and below, the verse:

No goulden gift I giue
nor Jwel wourthy priz
but such as uirtue maye aduaunce
to final foile of uice.

The next leaf (fol. 169) contains the epistle, headed in our author's usual style: 'To the right honorable and his especial good Lord Iohn Lumley Iohn phillipps wisheth increas of honor, health, plenty, many good and merry new years, prosperous success with al other the gifts of grace proceeding from god the father of Light,' and subscribed on the verso: 'yo^r honors moost humble and faithfull well weller [sic] Ihon phillipps.' The text begins on fol. 170: 'Christian & moost comfortable counsails . . .' and is signed on fol. 178^b: 'yo^r honors in all humilitie Ihon phillipps.'

23. The other work in question is found in MS. Reg. 18. A. xlii. The first leaf bears the words: 'Phillips verses to my L. Lumley'; the next contains the epistle, headed: 'To the Right honorable and vertuous Lord, Ihon Lumney, Ihon phillip wisheth peace and prosperitie in and from god the father of o^r Lord and sauour Ihesus christ,' and signed: 'Tuus in domino I phillippus.' He speaks of the work as 'the first frutes of my good will named a Closet of counsell, exhausted and drawne forth of the prudent preceptes of Cato.' He also mentions 'yo^r honorable Lady,' but unfortunately says nothing to show whether it is the first or second Lady Lumley that is intended. Lumley was from 1549 onwards a student of the same college at Cambridge as Phillip, but whether the latter's residence should be pushed back so far as to make

him a contemporary of his noble patron may perhaps be questioned. The present work consists of twenty-four pages of verse, again subscribed, 'Tuus in domino I phillippus.' The composition is of no great interest, and rather than quote any portion thereof I will transcribe an anagram which the poet has appended at the end. The original is written in short lines. I supply the necessary minimum of punctuation.

I Incline to virtue, a godly lif endeuor to frequent :
 o obaie thy god, his gossell loue, in time thy syns repent:
 H handfast the promises of god and print them in thy
 minde,
 N ne suffer you his benefites to slip, as one vnkinde :
 L Loue loyaltie vnto thy ende and purchase endles fame:
 v use lenitie, be louly fownd, and wine a noble name :
 m make much of those that feare y^e lord in godly mene
 delight :
 n no tounge more worthie prais be sur than that which
 speaketh right :
 E Enuy no state, loath all abuse, death shall the not
 deuour,
 y yll touns avoid, from flattrers fly with all thy might
 & powre.

It should be mentioned that these two manuscripts, neither of which appears to be the work of a professional scribe, are written in two entirely different hands. This fact, seeing that each is a presentation copy from the author, is certainly remarkable. One or other must be the work of an amanuensis. It would be unwise to pronounce further, but I may just mention that the verse

effusion, among a number of corrections in the same hand as the text, has at least one alteration (on fol. 11^b) in a different hand, and this a hand showing some resemblance with that of the prose tract. It is possible, therefore, that this latter is the autograph.

24. Lastly, it remains to give some account, necessarily slight, of Phillip's newly discovered play. As already mentioned, the piece seems to have been entered twice over in the books of the Stationers' Company. The records are as follow: 1565-6, 'Recevyd of Thomas Colwell for his lycense for prynting of an history of meke and pacyent gresell . . . iiij^d'; 1568-9, 'Recevyd of Thomas Colwell for his lycense for pryntinge of the history of payciente gresell &c. . . . viij^d' (Arber, i. 309, 385). What the significance of the two sums paid may be, I know not. On the title-page the name of the author is given as Iohn Phillip, while at the end of the text occurs his habitual formula, 'Finis. qd. Iohn Phillipp.' I think anyone who reads any considerable portion of the play will be convinced that it is at any rate worthy to rank as our author's, while two passages, in which the word 'file' is used, taken in conjunction with Collier's extract from 'Cleomenes,' should banish any lingering doubt.

How spitfully hath death delt now with me moast wofull
wretch!

What ment you, destenies so dire, your hands thus forth
to stretch,

And merciles to giue such doome as works a Ladies woe,
Forsynge me my faythfull mate so soone for to for goe?

Why rather reft ye not my file by force in twaine?
 Your hatfull yre with rigor mixt to morne doth me con-
 straine.

.

She. The fruites of frendly loue to thee shall still be
 showne;
 My hart is thine, receaue the same, and take it as thine
 owne.

He. Possesse thou myne while death deuide & shred
 my File in twain;
 As long as life abides in corps, thine owne I will remaine.

The story of Griselda comes, of course, from Boccaccio's 'Decameron,' but whether direct or through what channel has not been determined. The play follows its ultimate source in the main closely, though the author's puritanism apparently has induced him to omit the part played by the pretended dispensation from the pope. A greater change is effected by the introduction of such allegorical figures as Rumor, Patience, and Constancy; by such names as Fidence, Reason, Sobriety, courtiers; Indigent Poverty, a peasant; Diligence, a messenger; and Vulgus, a citizen, given to perhaps typical, but by no means allegorical, characters; and most of all by the addition of a 'vice,' general buffoon and mischief-maker, who affords some comic relief, as well as a much needed, but lamentably inadequate, motive for Count Walter's outrageous behaviour to his certainly provoking wife. This character bears the name, which could be paralleled from several of the great moralities of about the second quarter of the sixteenth century, of Politic Persuasion, and his opening speech may be quoted as

representing the most sustained effort at humorous composition we possess from Phillip's pen. I have silently corrected a few misprints, and have also slightly revised the punctuation.

Benedicite, Sante! good Lorde where am I now?
 Marie, I may say to you I had a sodden fall;
 Euen now I sawe Venus milkinge a Cowe,
 Who took me by y^e hand & led me to her palace royall,
 V^hear Cupid hir sonne sat with his bow in hande,
 Like a manlye Archer his fooes to with stande.
 She spread the table and made me good cheare,
 We had Cakes and Creame plentifull store;
 But thence I was taken and carried by the heare,
 And placste at the entrie of Iupiters dore,
 Who peeping out at the keyhole espied my face,
 And with capp and knee welcommed my good grace.
 Lorde what sollace was made at my enteraunce!
 Orpheus the God of harmonie, was sent for to supper,
 And Mercurius for a present, a frend of mine old acquaintance,
 Brought to welcome me a dishe of Almond Butter;
 Saint Peter fryed Pancakes a iolly good pace
 And sent them as daynties to Iupiters grace.
 Ther was no remedie but I must lodge ther all night;
 And in the morninge after breakefast was done,
 I was set on a Horse which to my Iudgement and sight
 Was snowted like a wodcoke and bellied like a Tonne;
 But Lorde so he praunsed from the topp of Iunos Towre,
 Hee carried me thre hundreth mile in the space of an hour.
 But by chaunce comminge to the pauillion of mightie
 Mars,
 Bellona, the goddis of battaile, in Armor was clad,
 With twentie thousand men waightinge at her ars;
 Which sight so amazed me that as one bestraught or mad
 I spurred cut with my furie outrageous and fell,
 That he cast me hedlonge to the Dungeon of Hell.

As a new come gest I was plased at Belzabubs Table;
But such a sight of Crabtree facst knaues were seruitors
ther,

I swear by myne honor, I vse not to fable,
They put my manly hart in a wounderfull feare.
But then, calling to Iupiter for his fauour and grace,
I was sodenly tranceported by his Aungell from that place,
And set on my Horse backe euen as I was before;
And postinge to and froe, my praucer fell on his knees
Euen right against the entrye of his glorious goodly dore,
Who sat by the fyres side eating Bread and Cheese.
'God spede,' quoth I, 'and quickly open the gate!'
But he gaped gredelye and bad me cease my prate:
'Thou wilt wake God almightie & his Aungels out of
their slomber!'

'Nay,' quoth I, 'thou art loath thy dynner to lose!'
But at that worde, I sweare by sayncte Duncomber,
He cast me downe churlishlye, and had lyke to broke
my nose.

Throughe the thicke cloudes I had a merueilous fall,
That I had lyke to broke my necke on the tope of West-
minster hall,

But Charinge crosse was my frende and caught my lege
in his hand,

The wethercocke of Paules to ayd me took his flight;
And betwen these two franions, ye shall vnderstand,
I was set on my legges and reyzed vpright:

The crosse in Cheape, for ioye I had scapt this ill fauoured
chaunce,

Did playe on a bagpype, and the standerd did daunce.¹

¹ There follows a stage direction to announce the approach of the Count and his woodmen, which I imagine to be intended for prose, but which in fact forms perhaps the best two lines of verse that Phillip ever wrote:

Heare let ther be aclamor, with whouping and halowing,
As thoughe ye weare huntinge, or chasinge the game.

It stands exactly so in the original.

Queer how lightly reverence sits on our good puritan once he has made the slight nominal change from Jahveh to Jupiter! I must next ask the reader's patience for a sample of Phillip's idea of brisk dialogue. The courtiers are urging their lord to take a wife:

A courtier. This is the meane why we remaine in pen-
sive pained plight,
This is the cause that anguish doth our sollace banishe
quit,

That you in single state abyde and marriage do refraine;
Wold god you wold inioye that yoake; then swaged were
our paine . . .

The Vice. Bones, is all this intretaunce for wiuing?
Some men are married and would be vnweddid againe;
And some men neuer fall to thriuinge
Before they be spoused; this is euident and plaine . . .

The Count. My frendes full frendly I reple, with pro-
testacyon due,
That single life preferred is in sacred scripture true.

[*A Courtier*] But happie are the married sort, which
liue in perfit loue.

[*The Count.*] Twice happier are the single ones, S. Paull
doth plainly proue,
For such as leade a virgins life, and sinfull lust expell,
In heauen, aboue the ethrall skies, with Christ ther lord
shal dwell.

A Courtier. We graunt that scripture doth extoull
Vestas sauorie flower,
And happie are the continent, which rest within hir bower,
But yet for you more mete it were conioyned for to be,
That after you your sead of rule might haue the dignite . . .

The Vice. Baw waws is no weddinge, the prouerbe doth
tell!

Marie, quoth you? I hard many a one saye

That the first daie for weddinge all other doth excell,
For after they have had not one merie daie!

On the whole the lightest portions of Phillip's play are the songs which are interspersed with a fairly liberal hand. The following extract from the first, put into the mouth of Grissell, will illustrate our author's favourite lyrico-didactic vein:

God by his prouidence deuine,
Hath formed mee of slimie Claye,
Then whye shoulde I in ought repine,
Or seeke his will to disobaye?
Be it far from me to do such ill,
As to contende against his will!
Singe danderlie Distaffe, & danderlie:
Ye Virgins all come learne of mee.

Obaie such men as you do serue,
Vse dilligence at all assaise,
Then fame hir Troumpet will preserue
To thunder forth to skies your praise;
From filthie speach your tounes refraine,
Let godlines in you remaine.
Danderlie distaffe, and danderlie:
Ye Virgens all come learne of me!

Excellent advice, truly; only one would have thought the reply to the opening question a little obvious. In connection with this song it is curious to note the following entry in the Stationers' Register in 1565-6, the same year, that is, as the first entry of the play: 'Recevyd of Alexandre lacy for his lycense for pryntinge of a ballett intituled Danderly Dyscasse [sic] . . . iiij^d' (Arber, i. 302). A rather more attractive song is the duet between

Gautier and Grissell, 'to the tune of malkin,' though the spelling of the exclamation 'Heigh hoaw' is perhaps a little unfortunate :

Marques Syth Fate and Fortune thus agree,
 My onlie ioye and Ladie deare,
 A Romeo I will rest to thee,
 In whome the fruities of Faith appeare :
 Heigh hoaw, my true loue,
 I ioye in thee my Turtell Doue.

[*Grissell*] Not Cresus Gould nor Midas mucke
 My phancye fyxt may seeme to chainge,
 Diana doth me still instrucke
 To Venus knightes aye to be strainge :
 Heigh hoaw, my sweet hart,
 I honor the while death vs parte.

Perhaps, however, the nurse's song is the most promising attempt at lyric that our author has left us :

Be still, my sweet sweeting, no lenger do crye—
 Sing lullaby baby, lullaby baby—
 Let dollors bee fleetting, I fancie thee I,
 To rocke and to lull thee, I will not delay mee.
 Lullaby baby, lullayby babye!
 Thy Nurse will tend thee, as dylie as may be.
 What creature nowe liuing would hasten thy woe—
 Singe lullaby, lullaby, lullaby baby—
 See for thy reliuying the tyme I bestowe,
 To daunce and to prounce thee as pretly as may bee.
 Lullaby baby, lullayby babye!
 Thy Nurse will tend thee, as dylie as may be.

I have endeavoured in the preceding pages to give some account of such of Phillip's work as I

have been able to trace, and to indicate the information regarding his biography which can be extracted from it. In conclusion I wish to say a few words as to the form of his name. In the unsettled spelling of the sixteenth century we need not suppose that our author, any more than most of his fellows, was at all punctilious as to the exact form in which his name appeared; but in his case, as in others, there was probably a certain habitual spelling from which others diverged, and it is clearly this that we should take in our stricter days to indicate him. Such, I think, the evidence will readily afford us. I have found the following nine variants of the name: Philip, Phillip, Phillipp, Phillippus, Philips, Phillips, Phyllips, Phillipps, Philippes. Once there is an ambiguous form: in the heading to the Cato manuscript 'Phillips verses' may mean Phillip's or Phillips's, though personally I think the former more likely. The form Phillippus seems pretty certainly a Latinization of Phillip and not Phillips. Now Philip occurs twice in one printed book; Phillip once in the Stationers' Register, once in a manuscript, and (including 'Cleomenes,' on Bagford's and Ritson's authority) sixteen times in ten printed books; Phillipp once in a book; Phillippus twice in one manuscript and once in a printed book; Philips once in the Register and twice in one book; Phillips once in the Register and seven times in four books; Phyllips once in a book; Phillipps twice in one manuscript; and lastly Philippes once in a contemporary allusion. As a rule a single work only supplies one form of the name, but the 'Commemoration of Margaret

Douglas' offers the forms Phillip, Phillippus, and Phyllips; 'Patient Grissell,' Phillip and Phillipp; the 'Cato' manuscript, Phillip and Phillippus; and the different editions of the 'Sommon to Repentance,' Phillip, Phillips, and Philips. Summing up we find only fifteen instances of forms with the -s, against twenty-four without it, or to put it differently we find six books and one manuscript using -s forms, against thirteen books and one manuscript using non-s forms. This sufficiently justifies the British Museum's adoption of the form Phillip (by far the commonest single form), and sufficiently condemns the D. N. B.'s advocacy of the forms 'Phillips, Philips, or Phillyps,' this last being indeed a mere slip for the isolated variant Phyllips.

Finally, I wish to point out that in writing my account of the Chelmsford witch tract in the former part of this article, I forgot, what I ought to have remembered, that three pages from the Lambeth original had been reproduced in Mr. G. J. Gray's paper on William Pickering, printed by the Bibliographical Society (Transactions, iv. 81, 84, 85). I am obliged to Mr. Gray for drawing my attention to the omission.

W. W. GREG.

WATSON'S 'HISTORY OF PRINTING.'

JAMES WATSON, who set up as a printer in Edinburgh in 1695, and held office as one of the King's Printers in Scotland from 1712 to his death in 1722, was a man who had an absorbing interest in his profession. He not only did his best to preserve the privileges of his craft, and suffered severely in consequence, but he also wrought earnestly to improve it on its mechanical side. One of the books he printed has been described as the most beautiful of its kind ever produced in Scotland. So wide was his culture in this respect and so great his enthusiasm, that he never dreamed of keeping the secret of his success to himself. He spoke emphatically concerning the lost condition to which his art had fallen in Scotland, and as diligently indicated the means that should be adopted to effect a general improvement. He was accordingly a worthy pioneer to those who have made Edinburgh one of the most important printing centres of the world.¹

Not the least service he did in this direction was to issue his 'History of Printing.' In it he set forth the chief causes which he considered were

¹ The chief facts of his life are set forth in the 'Scottish Historical Review,' April, 1910.

producing the prevailing bad workmanship in Scotland. These were that no qualified correctors of the press were employed, that no care was shown in having expert pressmen, that the presses themselves were old and out of date, and that bad lye was used. Such a book would of necessity have its usefulness cut short when the conditions it was intended to influence had passed away. But Watson's 'History' has a permanent value, and that is due to a brief sketch of the history of printing in Scotland which it contains. It has been claimed for it that it is the first history of printing these islands ever saw. The claim must be modified to apply to Scotland only. As early as 1664 there was published in London, 'The Original and Growth of Printing Collected out of History and the Records of this Kingdome, by Richard Atkyns Esquire.' This treatise has had its worth completely destroyed as a statement of facts,¹ but it nevertheless takes priority in point of time as a British history of the art. Even had Atkyns been reliable Watson's essay, however, would have lost none of its value and importance, for it deals with Scotland alone, and is our earliest treatise on the subject.

The title-page of the little octavo is as follows: 'The/History/of the/Art of Printing,/Containing an Account of It's/Invention and Progress/in Europe:/with The Names of the Famous Printers,/The Places of Their Birth/and the Works printed by Them./and/A Preface by the Publisher/to/The

¹ cf. Conyers Middleton's 'Dissertation on Printing,' Cambridge, 1735.

Printers in Scotland/[A line]/Edinburgh/Printed by James Watson. Sold at his shop, op-/posite to the Lucken-Booths; and at the Shops of Da-/vid Scot in the Parliament-Close, and George/Stewart a little above the Cross M.DCC.XIII.' The whole is enclosed in a double-ruled border of black. Lines two, six, ten, twelve and sixteen, along with the words 'James Watson' in the imprint, are in red. Several words are in italics, and line four is in Black Letter.

The collation is as follows, the book consisting of three parts:

- (1) In eights; A 8 + a 4; A 1^a Title, A 1^b blank, A 2^a begins: 'The/Publishers Preface'/etc. pp. [1]-24.
- (2) b 8—d 8. 'Specimens of Types/in the/Printing-House/of James Watson.' These consist of blooming letters, and capitals, along with various sizes of English (roman and italic) and Greek types. pp. i.-xlviii. Attached to this part is a large folded sheet of additional ornaments—tail-pieces, headings, etc.—to the number of fifteen. Three contain monograms of Watson's initials.
- (3) A 8—D 8. 'The/History/of the/Invention and Progress/of the Mysterious Art of/Printing,'/etc. pp. 1-64.

Avowedly produced as an example of good workmanship, the 'History' is indeed creditable to its printer. When it is set beside the many inferior books that were being produced in Edinburgh at the time of its publication, or compared with the wretched typographical exercises emanating from

Glasgow, its excellence can be best appreciated. And yet Watson was not satisfied with the specimens of type he showed. He announced that 'in a few Weeks I am to be provided with a greater Variety, and of the best in Europe.' At the same time he informs his fellow tradesmen that 'I shall always be ready to acquaint my countrymen of the Place and Founder I have them from.' 'Twas not,' he continues, 'from any Ostentation that I plac'd this Specimen here, but to undeceive some People who were made to believe, That the last Specimen I printed about Six Years ago, was done for me Abroad, and that I had no such Types in my Work-House: But most of you know the Falshood of this Assertion.'

The 'Preface' is dated 29th May, 1713. For several years previously Watson had been the printer of the 'Scots Courant,' and an advertisement concerning the 'History' appeared in No. 1,205 of that newspaper, dated 'From Friday June 12th to Monday June 15th 1713.' It is practically a reproduction of the title-page, and runs as follows:

This Day is Published.

The History of Printing. Containing an Account of its Invention and Progress in Europe; with the Names of the famous Printers, the Places of their Birth, and the Works printed by Them. And a Preface by the Publisher to the Printers of Scotland. Sold at the Shops of David Scot in the Parliament-Close; George Stewart, a little above the Cross; and James Watson, opposite to the Lucken-booths, Price two Shillings.'

¹ See the writer's 'Edinburgh Periodical Press,' i. 248.

The last clause finally disposes of the assertion sometimes made that the book was issued as a 'sixpenny pamphlet.'¹ Watson repeated the advertisements of several of his books, but during 1713 no further advertisement of the 'History' was made in the 'Courant,' which seems to indicate that its publisher was satisfied with the sale the little volume achieved. So far as known no second edition has ever been printed. The present value of a copy is about £5.

It has been asserted that a 'large paper' copy of the book was published. Lowndes seems to indicate—although his punctuation makes the matter uncertain—that two such issues were disposed of at sales, viz., at the Roxburgh supplementary sale, when the book fetched thirty shillings, and at the Dibdin sale, when the price obtained for a morocco bound copy was improved by five shillings.² Dibdin himself roundly affirms that 'My copy, upon *Large Paper*, cost me £1 8/-. It was formerly Paton's of Edinburgh, a knowing antiquary in Scottish Printing.'³ Dibdin's untrustworthiness is notorious, and corroboration of his statements is usually required. The original advertisement in the 'Courant' makes no mention of any special issue, and the writer has come across no large paper copy. It is possible that Dibdin possessed merely an uncut copy of the ordinary

¹ e.g., Watson's 'Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems' (Glasgow Reprint, 1869), Introduction, p. vi.; 'Bibliographer,' ii. (1882), p. 129.

² 'Bibliographical Manual,' iv. 2, 854.

³ 'Bibliomania' (1811), p. 89.

edition, and magnified his property into one of a large paper size. An example of a similar process of glorification is to be found in Dr. A. B. Grosart's estimate of Robert Fergusson. In connection with the first edition of the latter's poems (1773) he says: 'There were a few large paper copies struck off. I had once one of them, and it ranged exactly with my set of the 1786 Burns, Sillar and Lapraik, Little and Turnbull, whereas the ordinary is a small duodecimo.'¹ Circumstantial as the statement was, it was immediately challenged by an authority on Scottish vernacular poetry, the late W. Craibe Angus,² but no rejoinder ever appeared. Perhaps the large paper copy of Watson's 'History' may be set by the side of the nine-inch (1773) Fergusson in the library of books that should have been, but are not.

A matter of more importance than the style of publication of the book, however, is the authorship of the 'Preface.' There is no difficulty about the main text. The Preface states it was a translation from the French, and the late William Blades was the first to point out that the original author was La Caille, who published his 'Histoire de l'Imprimerie' in 1689.³ Apart from some compression in parts, it is a faithful translation. It is different, however, with the Preface which for us is the most important section of the volume. It is usually styled Watson's, but his authorship has been rejected by several authorities, and the honour given to

¹ 'Robert Fergusson' (Famous Scots), p. 102.

² 'Bookman,' March, 1898.

³ 'Printers' Register,' 5th December, 1875.

John Spottiswoode. It is undoubted that Spottiswoode was a man who might quite well have written the little work. He belonged to a family that had been intimately connected with Scottish history for a century; he was himself somewhat of an historical student, wrote several books on law, taught law classes in the city, and did legal business for Watson. Above all he was Keeper of the Advocates' Library at the time of its appearance, and had been a printer himself. The Preface states that 'in 1706 Mr. John Spotiswood, Advocate and Professor of Law, brought Home a neat little House for printing his Law Books. But in a little time after, dispos'd of it to Mr. Robert Freebairn, Bookseller, who has very much enlarg'd the same and done several large Works in it at Edinburgh.' But however competent a man may be to write a book, that is not proof that he actually did so.

So far as can be ascertained, the first suggestion of Spottiswoode's authorship was made by George Paton, the well-known Edinburgh antiquary, in a communication he sent to Herbert the editor of Ames's 'Typographical Antiquities' (iii. 1815). No proof is given, but Paton would seem to have talked otherwise about the man he considered the real writer. At least George Chalmers, author of 'Caledonia,' etc., and himself a diligent student of Scottish typography and bibliography, seems to have heard of the statement, and writes: 'The late intelligent George Patient [*sic*] asserted that the Preface of this little work, which is subscribed by Watson, was in fact written by John Spottiswoode, advocate.' But Chalmers was not disposed to

accept the change, for he goes on: 'If I were to conjecture, I would say that I think Spottiswoode wrote the history of the foreign printers and Watson the account of the Scottish,'¹ an addition which utterly destroys the value of any opinion he might have in the matter, for it contradicts the Preface itself. Since that time, however, Paton's statement has been accepted by many—Lowndes, Dickson and Edmond, Bigmore and Wyman among the rest. It is apparent, however, that these are merely following the lead given in Herbert. The last joint-authors make a terrible jumble of simple matters in doing so. They say that 'the didactic part, as stated in the preface was written by John Spottiswoode, translated from a celebrated French writer.'² It is difficult to discover what is exactly meant, but it is needless to say that the Preface makes no such statement. If it did, controversy on the point would be at an end.

On the other side are to be put down the following facts. The title-page, while saying nothing about the authorship of the main part of the book, describes the Preface as being 'by the Publisher.' The proper phrasing would probably have been '*from* the Publisher,' if the work had been done by another in his name. The Preface itself ends with the words, 'Gentlemen, your most humble Servant, James Watson.' The first personal pronoun throughout the treatise refers to Watson, while Spottiswoode is spoken of in the third person—a fact which

¹ 'MSS. Collections relating to Scottish Printing' (Advocates' Library).

² 'Bibliography of Printing,' iii. 68.

may have no meaning except to show the care with which the personation is carried out, but which yet may be significant of the truth when placed alongside of other facts. As has already been shown, the advertisement of the book's first appearance has also the words 'Preface by the Publisher.' The earliest reference to the book which the present writer has been able to find is made by Hugo Arnot in his 'History of Edinburgh.'¹ Arnot was a man of fair accuracy in bibliographical matters, and he speaks of 'young Watson, author of the History of Printing.' James Maidment, the learned antiquary, who had access to confidential documents, sketched the life of John Spottiswoode, and gave a list of his works, even assigning to him a pamphlet published anonymously.² Not only does Maidment know nothing of the Spottiswoode authorship, but he distinctly quotes from 'James Watson in his curious little work on printing.'³

It is probable that the truth will never be known. It ought, however, to be said, that there is nothing improbable in the idea that Watson was the author. He was a man of wide views, as is shown by the place he sought to give printing among the arts and in the community. According to his own account he sent his son to school and college that he might be trained to take his place. The subject was one in which he had more than an operative's interest, and the narrative as it stands shows no such excellencies of style or profundity of

¹ Edinburgh, 1788, p. 437.

² 'Spottiswood Miscellany,' i. 229-32.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 297.

information as would place it beyond the reach of his powers of composition. Much of the matter discussed was technical to his trade, and better known to him than it could possibly be to Spottiswoode. Many of the facts he mentions could only have come from himself, while the few sentences devoted to Spottiswoode spoke of things that must have been public property in Edinburgh, and required no special means of information. But a master-printer is not as a rule an author in addition, and it seems plausible to conclude that at the best he simply employed another to put into shape materials he himself supplied. Such reasoning deprives him also of the credit of compiling the 'Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems,' and hands it over to Spottiswoode. It requires better grounds, however, than mere conjecture to effect this exchange of authorship, and until further facts emerge the balance of probability must lean towards Watson in both cases.¹

For a time it was customary to say slighting things concerning the value of the Preface as a history of Scottish printing. Thus Dibdin, with

¹ Perhaps no stress can be laid by way of argument on the spelling of Spottiswoode's name. Its owner was far from consistent in its orthography. In the Preface it is spelled 'Spotiswood,' and that seems to have been a usual form with him: it is found in the second edition of his 'Present State of the College of Justice,' published in 1718. On the other hand, in his edition of his grandfather's 'Præcticks,' published by Watson in 1706, the name appears as 'Spotiswoode'; and in the 'Act of the Dean and Faculty of Advocates in favour of Thomas Ruddiman,' reproduced in facsimile in Chalmers's 'Ruddiman,' App. 3, it is 'Spottiswoode.' In subsequent editions of his works, produced after his death, further variations occur.

his accustomed loftiness, said of the book that it was 'at best but a meagre performance; it happens to be rare, and therefore bibliomaniacs hunt after it,'¹ and George Chalmers, writing about the same time, declared that it 'gives a superficial and inaccurate account of the Scottish printers.'² A truer estimate of its value now prevails. It was a pioneer work, and credit is due to it on that account, but in addition it sets down some facts that would without it have escaped record, and in other respects furnishes many clues, the following up of which has led to considerable additions to our knowledge of early Scottish printing.

It no doubt contains mistakes. The dates cannot always be trusted. Thus it says Robert Sanders 'succeeded Andrew Anderson in Glasgow about the year 1668,' whereas the true date should have been 1661. It places the death of Sanders 'about 1696,' when it actually occurred in July 1694. It makes Forbes, the Aberdeen printer, set up business 'about the year 1660,' which is probably two years too early. It will be observed, however, that the author has the saving grace in these cases to indicate his own lack of precise knowledge. In bibliographical matters also he is not immaculate. The 'Complaynt of Scotland,' for example, is spoken of as having been 'printed at St. Andrews in the year 1540,' where both date and place are probably wrong. The blunder was perhaps excusable, for it was only recently that the true place of publication was guessed at.³

¹ 'Bibliomania,' p. 69.

² 'MSS. Collections,' *ut supra*.

³ *cf.* Dickson and Edmond's 'Annals of Scottish Printing,' pp. 136-49.

The author has been credited, however, with more mistakes than he made. James Maidment calls attention to his statement that 'Evan Tyler, who was then King's Printer as well as Robert Young having printed for the Usurper against the King, was justly forfeited at Scoon and declar'd a Rebel by King Charles II Anno 1650,' and adds that this is 'at variance with the fact that Tyler printed at Edinburgh "A Declaration of the King's Majesty to his Subjects. . . . Given at our Court at Dunfermline the 16th day of August 1650."' As a matter of fact the patent making Duncan Mond King's Printer is dated at Perth (which is practically Scone), 4th December, 1650, and gives as the reason for the new appointment that 'Evan Tyler, lait printer to his hienes, hes not onlie made his residence in England and joyned himself with that rebellious partie thaire who have invaded this Kingdome and by himself and his servants printed and published diverse seditious, rebellious and scandalous papers destructive to his Majesties Government and to the Government of this Kirk and Kingdome'—all which bears out the statement in the 'History.'

In general, apart from dates, the various averments of the Preface stand the test of accuracy and reliability well when they can be checked from other sources.

It errs altogether, however, in regard to the origins of Scottish printing. It affirms that presses were set up in Scotland soon after the invention of

¹ 'Spottiswood Miscellany,' ii. 298.

printing—'we had Printing very early here,' it says, 'nor would we miss of being soon let in to the Art, having at the Time of its Invention, a close and constant Trade with the Low Countries.' The author has no idea that the art was not introduced into Scotland till 1507. He also thinks that it passed into the country through Holland. 'That we had it from Holland is clear,' he says, 'from our Cases and Presses being all of Dutch Make, till of late Years; and from our Manner of Working, in Distributing the Letter on Hand with the Face from us and the Nick downwards; and our making Ink, as the Printers there do, to this Day.' The inference is one that can be understood: the printers of Scotland were greatly indebted to their brethren of Holland both for workmen and for a good example in craftsmanship. Most of all was the mistake pardonable in Watson. He was himself Dutch by his mother's side, and when he needed workmen of special excellence sent to Holland for them. The Preface tells how his father aided Dutch printers derelict in Scotland, and records that Sanders in Glasgow also employed their countrymen. But he was nevertheless probably wrong. Later investigations seem to prove conclusively that the noble art came to Scotland from France, and that French influence dominated it for some time to come.¹

W. J. COUPER.

¹ cf. Ames's 'Typographical Antiquities,' p. 1,470; Dickson and Edmond, pp. 2-4.

REVIEWS.

Conspectus Incunabulorum: an index catalogue of fifteenth century books, with reference to Hain's Repertorium, Copinger's Supplement, Proctor's Index, Pellechet's Catalogue, Campbell's Annales, and other bibliographies. By R. A. Peddie. Part I., A-B. London: Libraco Ltd., 60 Wilson Street. 1910. pp. xi; 196. Price 10s. 6d. net.

THE best praise which we can give to Mr. Peddie's book is that we shall be very glad to see it completed. It is not, indeed, an epoch-making work like Herr Burger's Index to Hain, which in 1890 set rolling the ball which has been kept up so merrily ever since, but the incunabula unrecorded by Hain, which Herr Burger registered in his enlarged Printer-Index in 1902, were so numerous that an Author-Index to this Printer-Index even in 1902 would not have been superfluous, and by including the books brought to light since 1902 and those which he has found in the sources, chiefly Italian, not exhausted by Herr Burger, Mr. Peddie has further enlarged the scope of his work and increased its value. In his 'List of Authorities' Mr. Peddie gives the names, and the abbreviation by which he notes them, of about

one hundred and twenty different works, and as a ready means of ascertaining what editions of any given book are known and where they are described, even this first instalment will be found of great value by students, while every fresh fasciculus which appears will make it a more constant companion. The book is clearly printed, and the retention of Hain's too cryptic arrangement of the works of voluminous authors such as Albertus Magnus, while justifiable on other grounds, offers far less difficulty when the headings occupy at most only three or four pages compared with the score to which the descriptions may make them extend in Hain.

In his Prefatory Note Mr. Peddie states that this first part contains 7,128 entries as compared with 4,184 in Hain. If Hain's 'Repertorium,' which contains over 16,000 entries, had been equally complete throughout, this would prepare us for a total of some 28,000 in Mr. Peddie's work when it reaches the end of the alphabet. But from T onwards the Repertorium was published posthumously from such materials as Hain had collected before his death, and for these letters Mr. Peddie's additions will be far more numerous, so that his total will probably exceed 30,000. What relation this figure may bear to the total number of incunabula still extant, and what relation the extant incunabula bear to those that once existed are difficult questions which we are not prepared to approach with such wild guesses as have lately been offered from Chicago. Mr. Peddie, however, gives us some linguistic

information, which probably bears very closely on this point. Of his 7,128 entries 5,940 are in Latin, 8 in Greek, 18 in Hebrew; and the number of books in these learned languages which have perished utterly may safely be placed at a very low figure, because (save among educational works) so few of those which have survived are unique. On the other hand, Mr. Peddie's 1,162 vernacular works (414 Italian, 341 German, 242 French, 78 Dutch, 53 Spanish, 28 English, 6 in other languages), when we remember how many of these have come down to us only in fragments or single copies, must be added to much more liberally if we would reach the original totals. Of indulgences, bulls, proclamations, and other single sheets, and of all kinds of grammars the destruction must have been greater still. Omitting these 'biblia abiblia' from the calculation and making a further deduction for the considerable number of 'ghosts' (duplicate and imaginary entries), by which early bibliography is still haunted, the nearest estimate we can make of the number of books printed in the fifteenth century is 30,000 in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and 10,000 in the vernacular languages, and of these we are inclined to believe that not more than 25,000 in the learned languages and 5,000 in the vernaculars now survive. We wish Mr. Peddie health and energy to index them all.

A. W. P.

NOTES.

THIS year's meeting of the Library Association at Exeter will probably rank as one of the pleasantest of many pleasant annual gatherings. It will also be remembered for the able defence of the public library system made by the President, Dr. F. G. Kenyon, in his address. Having shown that the British Museum and similar libraries are for reference and research, instruments of knowledge, he claimed that the public library and local libraries in general, are in addition instruments of culture. 'Not only so, but they are, in continuation of our primary and secondary schools, and in co-operation with our universities, the main factor in the intellectual culture of our nation. To those, therefore, who regard intellectual culture as the salt of a nation's life, they stand (together with our religious organizations) in the forefront of the agencies for good on which the future of the nation depends.'

However imperfectly the public library, as it at present exists, may fulfil this high ideal, Dr. Kenyon has done the library cause a genuine service by thus defining its place among the things which make for righteousness in a nation. Nor, as he proceeded to show, are the public libraries, even from this lofty point of view, anything like the failure which ignorant critics have tried to prove them to be. Figures supplied by the Treasurer, Mr. H. R. Tedder, give

the number of books circulated annually by the public libraries to the homes of the people as about sixty million volumes, with a further use of about eleven million volumes annually in the reference departments, a total of seventy-one millions, of which thirty-two millions, rather less than half, are classed as fiction (including children's books, which form a considerable item).

It is refreshing to have the facts as revealed by the figures so lucidly put forward. But Dr. Kenyon did more. He proceeded to state, with knowledge and insight, facts known to librarians, which no figures can convey, relating to the selection of the books, the class and ages of the readers, and many other points which must be taken into account in estimating the value of the work done. Summarising the present position Dr. Kenyon thinks that the work of the public libraries, so far as it goes, 'is sound and on the right lines.' Much remains to be done, but approval and encouragement from the principal librarian of the greatest library in the world must act as a stimulus to those who face a daily round of arduous duty believing that they are 'performing a function of vital importance to the country.'

It would be well if this presidential address could be circulated in some form to those engaged in the administration of public libraries who are not members of the Library Association.

A morning session was devoted to receiving and hearing addresses from the American librarians, who were present in greater number than usual, and whose enthusiasm was as marked as ever.

Mr. Davenport also gave one of his delightful lantern lectures, on French bookbindings.

The other features of the Conference were a public meeting, which was well attended, and a discussion on children's reading, the importance of which is at last being recognized.

J. B.

The two Congresses held at Brussels during the last week of August, the one on Bibliography and Documentation and the other of Archivists and Librarians, showed a distinct step forward in the international organization of librarianship and bibliography. The actual work done would have been more evident had the Belgian organisers shown less modesty. Their refusal to edit the questions sent in for discussion and the non-appointment of an agenda committee resulted in a congestion of business and the discussion of at least one or two topics which would have been better left alone.

The reports presented to the Bibliographical Congress by the various national delegates showed that the value of the organization of bibliographical knowledge is gradually being recognized. The creation of the Oficina Bibliográfica Nacional at Buenos Aires by decree of the President was looked upon as an important step. Unfortunately, the English delegates had no such cheering report to make, and could only say that English bibliographers were doing their best under very dispiriting circumstances. The Congress proceeded to endorse the Dewey classification and the card system, which it was hoped would be extended to publishers'

catalogues, and finally passed a resolution affirming the principle that each country should register all works published within its borders, and that such register should be compiled and issued with strict reference to bibliographical requirements.

Turning to the Congress of Archivists and Librarians, the English delegates took very little if any interest in the section of Archives, very naturally considering that the profession of archivist is practically unknown here. In the section devoted to Libraries and Librarians, however, English participation was considerable, and several resolutions were moved or amended by our delegates. The Congress declared in favour of professional education for librarians organized under the control of the national library associations, and further declared that librarians, in view of their professional status, should be treated as the heads of departments in the Civil Service and recompensed accordingly. A suggestion that a series of special libraries was preferable to a National Library was negatived on the ground that the usefulness of the great library was decreased by the taking away of part of its stock, and that this decrease of usefulness was not compensated by a corresponding increase in the value of the special library.

Many other topics came under discussion, ranging from the stamping of books (an international stamp was suggested in addition to that of the local library) to international loans of books, which it was agreed would be better arranged directly between libraries instead of, as at present, through diplomatic channels. A similar resolution on registration of

copyright to that passed by the Bibliographical Congress was carried without dissent.

The final session of the Congress resulted in the establishment of a permanent Commission charged with the organization of future Congresses.

Generally speaking, the feeling of the delegates at the conclusion of the Congress was that international gatherings of this character performed a useful function in bringing members of the same profession together from many lands. An interchange of opinion, it was felt, would lead to closer international co-operation in all those matters such as cataloguing rules, inter-library loans, the improvement of professional status, and many other matters which are urgently calling for the attention of librarians throughout the world.

R. A. P.

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